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THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH NATION

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO EPOCHS AND CRISES

A HISTORY OF AND FOR THE PEOPLE

BY
W. H. S. AUBREY, LL. D.

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. II. A. D. 1399–1658

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A.D. 1399–1509.

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30.—The Baronage Shattered.

31.—Beginnings of Tudor Absolutism.

32.—Family and Social Life.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

DE HÆRETICO COMBURENDO.

A.D. 1399–1413.

HENRY IV. is commonly called Henry of Bolingbroke, from the Lincolnshire village North of Boston, where he was born in 1366. With his accession, the old Saxon custom of a popular election of the monarch was revived under a new form. As a matter of historical accuracy, every dynasty that has filled the throne of this country has done so by Parliamentary right; expressed or implied; as against mere hereditary pretensions. The former constituted, in an especial degree, the sole claim of Henry IV.; for he had absolutely none on the latter ground; whatever plea he chose to set up. His father was the fourth son of Edward III.; but there were living descendants of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, an elder brother. Henry was in possession, however, and the times were critical. His first Parliament formally recognised him, and then his son as heir-apparent. Five years later, by the same supreme authority, the right of succession was vested in his other children, in the event of his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, dying without heirs. In 1406, the Commons secured an enactment, restricting this to heirs male. Other important constitutional principles were settled. It was enacted in the first Session that no judge could escape from the penalty of an illegal act by pleading the royal orders. A Supply was proposed to be withheld until a certain petition of an aggrieved subject was answered. The King was asked to dismiss from the household four officers; one being his confessor; and he complied. When voting money in 1405, they appointed, as in former reigns, treasurers to see to its proper disbursement; with instructions to

render an account to the House. All this was accomplished within seven years; and it attests the growing strength of the Legislature. In the following year, a number of important regulations were adopted for the royal household and for the administration of government. Among them was a distinct recognition of ministerial responsibility. The realm was to be governed by the advice of a permanent Council. Its members, with the judges and royal officers, were to take a solemn oath in Parliament to observe these rules. Hallam designates this as "a noble fabric of constitutional liberty; hardly inferior to the Petition of Right." Later reigns sometimes witnessed the temporary obscuration of these principles, and a violation of these rights. They always emerged again; like the sun from cloud or mist. To revoke them was impossible. The struggle between tyranny and freedom, once begun, admits of no compromise; nor is the final issue ever uncertain.

Under the first three Kings of the House of Lancaster, from 1399 to 1461, Parliament gained no such signal victories over regal power as had been won during the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. The necessity did not exist. The nation was enjoying the fruits of those achievements. On the other hand, absolutism did not resume the offensive and obtain an advantage. Such rights as those before-mentioned, viz., the voting and the appropriation of taxes, the control of the public accounts, intervention in the executive government, and the impeachment of high functionaries, were exercised; not always without resistance; yet effectually. Forms of procedure were settled; liberty of debate was demanded and conceded, and money grants were initiated in the Commons and then agreed to by the Lords. In 1430 an Act was passed regulating county elections. Hitherto, the franchise had been exercised by all who attended the County Courts. As complaints were made of tumults arising from disorderly persons assembling—the true reason being jealousy on the part of the great landowners—the franchise was restricted to the possessors of a freehold of the annual value of forty shillings, equal to at least thirty pounds now. Such continued to be the rule for four centuries and a half;

although, with the lapse of time, the purchasing power of money constantly fluctuated, and, in the main, greatly diminished. This disfranchising measure, which swept aside most of the leaseholders and copyholders, was shortly followed by another; that every knight of a shire should be a gentleman born. There were constant attempts to manipulate elections; as the Kentish men complained in Cade's rising a few years later. In borough elections local customs largely prevailed. There was no uniform usage. Theoretically, the choice rested with the burgesses "paying scot and bearing lot." Practically, it fell into the hands of the few persons charged with municipal affairs.

The customary Fifteenths and Tenths yielded only thirty-three thousand pounds in 1404. A new tax of five per cent. on the value of land, of five hundred marks and upwards, was granted by the Unlearned or the Lack-learning Parliament; so termed in derision, because the Writs of Summons, following an Ordinance of Edward III., in 1372, directed that no lawyer should be elected. Sir Edward Coke testily says,—"Never a good law was made thereat." It was chiefly remarkable for a proposal that the lands of the clergy should be taken for one year to meet the expense of the French War. Ten years later, another land-tax was imposed, on a broader basis. All owners were to pay six shillings and eightpence for every twenty pounds of yearly value; but it was expressly declared that a precedent was not to be thereby created. No further innovations were made until 1428, when a house-tax was levied; varying in town and country parishes. Seven years afterwards, a graduated Income Tax—the first on record—was imposed on all property, real or personal, at the rate of sixpence in the pound from five to one hundred pounds of yearly value; eightpence up to four hundred; and two shillings in the pound beyond that amount. Commissioners were appointed; with power to examine persons upon oath. The scheme was enlarged in 1450, so as to embrace all incomes of one pound and upwards, from any source. Sixpence was levied on each pound up to twenty; one shilling from that amount to two hundred; and two shillings beyond. The next Parliament raised the

minimum to two pounds derived from freeholds and copyholds, and to three pounds from offices. This graduated method, though opposed by some modern financiers of high repute, meets the conditions laid down by Adam Smith, that the sum paid should be proportionate to the protection enjoyed. The precedent thus set was followed at other times in the same century, though the scale of graduation varied. A similar plan was adopted by the Scottish Parliament in 1695, to protect the coasts from privateers. A poll-tax was raised by a graduated scale from the whole population, excepting the very poor ; commencing with six shillings, and rising to one hundred pounds, according to degree and estate. Clearer and juster views on taxation prevailed than at subsequent periods. There was a determined effort, while all were required to contribute to the national expenditure, to lay the heaviest burdens upon the strongest shoulders.

Immediately on his accession, Henry IV. had assured the clergy that money should not be demanded of them except in cases of necessity. He also promised a continuance of their immunities and monopolies, and avowed his readiness to assist in exterminating heresy ; meaning thereby the slightest divergence from the traditional belief and practice. The first promise meant nothing ; but it was useful in securing official support in a grave political crisis. When the danger was past, Subsidies were demanded from them as regularly as from the laity. More than once threats were made of taking by force what the clergy were indisposed to concede of their free will. But if their money was not spared, they were conciliated and gratified in another way. Their old popularity had decayed. In the ecclesiastical and social upheaval that was occurring, their authority and influence, hitherto unquestioned, greatly suffered. They were in danger of losing their absolute and insolent despotism over religious opinion. As their support was deemed necessary by Henry to the stability of his throne, it was cheaply purchased by the sacrifice of heretics ; just as the Roman mob was kept in good humour by the spectacle of Christians thrown to the lions in the arena. All who favoured the new opinions were stigmatized as

heretics or seditious; and upon them the spirit of priestly intolerance was allowed to wreak its revenge. Henry's accession was largely owing to Archbishop Arundel (1353–1413), who was a bitter foe of the Lollards. Even if the King had been disposed to shield them, he could not afford to risk the loss of such support. In return for this, a compact was made that steps should be forthwith taken to root out the Lollards, and to silence the dangerous attacks upon the power and wealth of the clergy.

Wycliffe left no formal successor. He had not, in the strict sense, organized a sect or a party. But a bold spirit of inquiry was abroad. To repress it was as impossible as to control the winds. His teachings had been received and cherished by multitudes, for whom the common name of derision was Hot Gospellers. They were of all ranks; and were found in the Court and the manor-house, in the city and the monastery; in the seats of learning and in country villages. The great Reformer's character had cast over them a potent spell. London was their stronghold. Its staid and wealthy citizens, advanced in intelligence and freedom, were jealous of the riches and ostentation of the clergy, and of their assumptions of political power. Country towns, fast rising into opulence, contained many adherents of the new opinions. To extirpate these was the object of the Grand Lamas of that day. In other parts of Christendom the process of suppression was simple and easy; for the secular rulers obsequiously obeyed the mandates of the Church; so long as these did not trench upon their own authority. In England, though the Common Law had occasionally dealt with such cases, and though Richard II. sought in vain to punish them, under a Proclamation, a specific Act was needed to legalize the burning of heretics. The fiery death was the penalty awarded to certain crimes by ancient usage; and it continued for more than three centuries to be the punishment of women adjudged guilty of witchcraft, coining, and other offences. The needful Act was informally and hurriedly passed in 1401. Sir J. F. Stephen says, that it was done by forgery and usurpation; countenanced and procured by the clergy; and that William Sawtre, the first martyr, was burned

before the pseudo-enactment was passed; no such writ having been issued before that time ('History of Criminal Law,' ii. 448).

The House of Commons was permeated with Wycliffism, and took no part in the measure. It was subsequently styled, "the Statute made in the second year of your Majesty's reign, at the request of the prelates and clergy of your kingdom." The State became, in Tyndale's phrase, the hangman for the bishops. The infamy of the measure rests alone upon them. They wrought on Henry's fears; under the panic created by wild and revolutionary tenets cunningly but falsely ascribed to the Lollards; some of whom avowed opinions that were held by sleek, self-complacent officialism to be detrimental to law and order. Most of them desired only a rational reform of abuses within the Church; as the Puritans did in a later age. The Inquisition, or Holy Office, was never instituted in England; although at this time it had been in full operation on the Continent for more than a century and a half, since the Crusade against the Albigenses, under the direction of the Dominicans. The popular sentiment was too strong against entrusting such enormous powers to unchecked clerical hands. The annals of persecution are terrible enough in this country; but they are not comparable for horror and cruelty with what took place in France, Spain, the Netherlands, and South America; where Hell seemed let loose, in the spirit ascribed to the ancient Furies. The Lollards were persecuted as much for their political opinions, and for alleged breaches of the public peace, as for their hostility to the tenets and policy of the Church. Nothing was more easy or convenient than to render those whom the ruling priesthood condemned for theological differences, yet more odious in the sight of the nation because of pretended offences against the State. This has been a favourite device with persecutors in every age.

The so-called Statute, *De Haretico Comburendo*, recites at great length, and with an array of denunciatory adjectives such as angry ecclesiastics alone can marshal, the supposed errors and crimes of all who presumed to exercise their own intelligence and judgment in religious

matters. As the diocesans could not deal with such perverse people, who contemned the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts, it was ordered that henceforth none should preach, teach, hold, or instruct, openly or privily, anything contrary to the faith or determination of Holy Church; or favour those who did. All heretical books were to be delivered up within forty days. There was, however, no definition of the opinions and practices to be suppressed. Wherein heresy consisted, was left to be determined by the judges; who were mostly prelates. A common informer or a personal enemy might lay a secret charge. Offenders and suspected persons were to be arrested; and either purge themselves of the charge, or recant. No trial was allowed by a jury. The ordinary procedure in civil courts was thrust aside. The accused were interrogated, browbeaten, and entrapped, with a view to compel them to incriminate themselves and to involve others. The abominable methods subsequently adopted in the High Commission and Star Chamber Courts were taken from those pursued in trials for heresy in the Bishops' Courts. If the farce of a conviction was secured, or if the victim relapsed, the sheriff or mayor was to cause him to be burned on a high place before the people; "that such punishment may strike fear to the minds of others." This was euphemistically termed by devout Canonists "a giving over to the secular arm." The Church, with a verbal quibble which the lay mind cannot distinguish from falsehood, though trying and sentencing the heretic, would not be stained with his blood. The cruel mockery was sometimes added of pretending to solicit for him merciful consideration from the civil power.

Such as recanted were liable to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure; which meant indefinite incarceration and certain ruin; or they were severely flogged, or branded on the face with hot irons, or sent to a monastery as drudges and slaves. This drastic Statute found its willing martyrs during the first half of the fifteenth century. From a list of authenticated trials for heresy, drawn up by Bishop Stubbs for the Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Courts, in 1883, it appears that down to the year 1466 more than one hundred

and twenty persons were thus tried; and the list is admittedly incomplete. The Act temporarily fell into desuetude under the domestic troubles and the strife of rival factions during the Wars of the Roses. Fuller says of the Lollards,—"The very storm was their shelter." The fires of martyrdom were quenched for a time by the stream of blood. Then new attacks upon clerical abuses again fanned into a flame the embers of religious persecution, and led to the devising of fresh legislative gags and thumbscrews. In this way, an era of religious intolerance was inaugurated in England, which lasted, in various forms, for four centuries. Catholics persecuted and burned Protestants; who, when they had the power, retaliated; and then persecuted, imprisoned, mutilated, banished, ruined, and sometimes burned one another; until in the fulness of time, just and merciful views prevailed. The plea that all these atrocities were perpetrated in the interests of true religion, and to prevent the spread of moral leprosy, will not bear investigation.

Archbishop Arundel died in 1414. His successor in the primacy, Chicheley, Bishop of St. David's, was as inveterate an opponent of the new opinions, and as bitter a persecutor of those who held them. The year after his elevation a severe law was enacted, confirming former Statutes against heresy, and requiring that all officials, from the Chancellor down to bailiffs, should take an oath to do everything in their power to extirpate Lollardism, and to assist the bishops in persecuting all who were suspected of heresy. Three respectable inhabitants of every parish were to be sworn to make diligent inquiry after Lollards; or any who possessed Wycliffe's books; or who "were singular in their way of living." Such measures were in accordance with the general system of espionage and terrorism that prevailed throughout Europe. In Foxe, the Martyrologist, and in Fuller's 'Church History' are to be found the records of the carrying out of these schemes. One of the most notable victims was Sir John Oldcastle, or Lord Cobham, as he is usually styled; a man of high position and influence, and regarded as the head of the Lollards. Charged in Convocation with holding heretical opinions on the Eucharist; on penance; on pilgrimages; and on "the

power of the keys," he was denounced, examined and condemned. Great excitement prevailed, owing to his renown as a warrior and to his popularity in the country. It was deemed politic, therefore, to make it appear that his chief offence was one of treason ; so as to deprive him of the crown of martyrdom, and fix upon him the brand of sedition.

Amidst all the confusion and misrepresentation of the time, one thing is clear ; that he was tried under the Statute against heresy. In the Epilogue to the Second Part of his play of 'Henry the Fourth,' Shakspere avows what was the common opinion in his day ; and says that his Falstaff was not intended for Oldcastle ; who died a martyr. After his condemnation, he contrived to escape ; and secreted himself for four years in Wales. Being betrayed and captured, he was brought to London, hung in chains, and slowly roasted to death in December, 1417. Sir Roger Acton, and thirty-eight other persons, experienced a like fate. By such policy, ruthlessly repeated, the hierarchy succeeded for a time in deferring the dreaded Reformation. The object, to be attained at all hazards, was to conceal ecclesiastical corruptions at home ; especially to prevent inconvenient inquiries into swollen and misapplied clerical wealth. Suggestions with a view to this were revived in the Commons after 1410. It was again proposed to appropriate for national uses the superfluous wealth of the Church ; or, as Edward Hall the Chronicler (1400–1547) says, "the temporal lands devoutly given and disordinately spent by religious and other spiritual persons." He adds that "this Bill was much noted and feared among the religious sorts, whom, in effect, it much touched ; insomuch that the fat abbots sweated, the proud priors frowned, and the poor friars cursed." To divert attention a counter-scheme was devised. Unjust claims on the throne of France were invented, and urged on Henry V. by Archbishop Chicheley and his party. The result was a wicked and disastrous war that lasted for thirty-eight years.

About the year 1440, Reginald Pecock, then Bishop of St. Asaph, but translated to Chichester the following year, wrote, 'The Repressor of Over-much Blaming of

the Clergy.' The great historical value of his book consists in its preserving the best arguments urged by the Lollards against existing dogmas and practices; together with such replies as an acute opponent was able to furnish. Pecock himself aimed at moderate improvements within the Church, and at the correction of manifest abuses; not at violent measures of reconstruction. In a sense, he was a precursor of Richard Hooker; but his views on Papal supremacy led him almost as far as a modern Ultramontane could desire. Seven years later, he wrote, in English, his 'Treatise on Faith'; intended to bring the Lollards to spiritual obedience; but he abandoned therein the infallible authority of the Church, and avowed opinions for which, and still more for political reasons, he was required to make a public abjuration in St. Paul's, December 4, 1457. His books were burned before his face. He was suspended from his office, and sent to Thorney Abbey; where he is supposed to have died. Some of the opinions which he was compelled to retract were afterwards authorized by the Council of Trent. He was not a Wycliffite; yet he unconsciously did much to propagate views that he sought to controvert. More remarkable; he advocated toleration in an age when it was wholly unknown. He was a Welshman by birth, and a Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, where he won a high reputation. The titles of some forty of his works are known; though most of the books have long since perished.

CHAPTER XXIX.

FRANCE LOST; AND THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

A.D. 1413–1455.

Although Henry IV. attained the object of his ambition, he speedily found how "uneasy lies the head that wears a Crown." His neighbours across the Channel refused to acknowledge his title; regarding him as a usurper. The Court of France, in particular, would not receive

his ambassadors. Nor was discontent lacking at home. For nearly ten years there were alarms of conspiracies and rebellion; of outbreaks in Wales; of inroads by the Scots; and of attempts to seize Henry by adherents of the late King, who was declared to be still alive. Some great nobles were involved; and there were skirmishes, battles, arrests, imprisonments, banishments, confiscations, and wholesale executions. The heir of the Scottish throne, afterwards James I., was captured on his way to France, and remained a prisoner for more than eighteen years. In one of the risings in 1405, Scrope, Archbishop of York, being implicated, was beheaded by an arbitrary exercise of prerogative. Such an act, not long before, would have shaken the strongest throne in Europe; but it excited comparatively little notice; only some of the subordinate instruments being excommunicated. The superstition of the age, however, did not fail to connect with this episcopal murder the physical sufferings that Henry is said to have endured to the day of his death in 1413, from a combined attack of what was then vaguely called leprosy, combined with epilepsy. He succumbed prematurely, at the age of forty-seven, before the difficulties and perplexities of a task which even his high spirit and great abilities could not achieve. Concerning his son and successor, Henry V. (b. 1388, r. 1413–1422), who had long governed in his father's name, owing to frequent illness, there are contradictory representations, for the popular acceptance of which Shakspere is mainly responsible. He reproduced in his own inimitable language the floating traditions of his day, derived from Hall and other Annalists who wrote subsequently to the times described. The stories told by them, and perpetuated by the great dramatist, of wild escapades by Henry, with "youth on the prow and pleasure at the helm," are manifest exaggerations, if not pure inventions. The delineation must be admired for its vivacity and boldness of colour; but as an historical portrait it is misleading; just as the Second Part of his drama of 'King Henry IV.' is confusing in time and place. The well-known story of Chief Justice Gascoigne, who is said to have committed young Henry

to prison for open defiance in Court, appears for the first time in 1531, in Sir Thomas Elyot's 'Boke of the Governor'; without any cited authority.

The truce with France, made prior to the decease of Edward III., had been interrupted by indecisive warfare in the time of his son; until another truce was made for twenty-eight years. It was ratified in the usual way by the marriage of Richard II. and Isabella, daughter of Charles VI. of France; to whom she returned after the deposition and murder of her husband. There were occasional violations of the treaty in the next reign, but Henry IV. was too much occupied at home to look across the Channel. No formal rupture occurred until Henry V. re-asserted the old claims made by his great-grandfather seventy-five years before. Personally, he had not the vestige of a pretence; but he was a devotee of the goddess Bellona, whose sounding whip ever urged him on. Unhappily for France, her condition invited attack. Her King was imbecile. The country was torn by the rival factions of Orleans and of Burgundy. Disorder threatened to result in anarchy. England has embarked in not a few unjustifiable wars; such as Cowper describes in 'The Task'; but this was one of the worst. Ambassadors passed to and fro, laboriously weaving the usual diplomatic cobwebs. Active military preparations were made. The enthusiasm of the people was aroused by appeals to passion and ignorance. *Delenda est Carthago* is a potent cry in every age.

Parliament granted a supply of two Tenths and two Fifteenths, from the towns and counties respectively; besides the lands of a hundred and ten alien priories; being property held in England by such foreign monasteries as Clugny and St. Evroul; to which the proceeds were transmitted. This was another forecast of and a precedent for what was done on a much larger scale in the next century. Gifts were solicited; money was borrowed; and the royal jewels were pawned. An army was collected; chiefly hired condottieri; and an unopposed descent was made on Harfleur, at the mouth of the Seine, August 18, 1415. An attack of dysentery carried off two-thirds of the force. Though weakened,

Henry set out to march through Normandy, Picardy, and Artois to Calais; but was met by a French army at Azincourt, on October 25th. After a fierce conflict of three hours' duration, and a series of incredible blunders, the French were utterly routed, with enormous loss; mainly through the deadliness of the English longbow. Demoralization set in, and the defeat ended in butchery that was stayed only from weariness. Nearly the entire chivalry of the nation was destroyed or captured. The prisoners were so numerous that orders were given to slay them, on a false alarm of a renewed attack on the rear. This remarkable battle virtually ended in nothing; for the English were too exhausted to pursue their success. The audacious march through a hostile country, and the consequent battle, are worthy of romantic surprise rather than of praise and admiration. As General Bosquet said of the Charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava,—"It is magnificent, but it is not war." Henry pursued his way to Calais, and crossed to Dover in November, 1415. The people were intoxicated with delight at the success of the enterprise, and there were revels and pageants in abundance. France continued to be torn by feuds, and so he awaited the course of events. In August, 1417, he went to Normandy, and captured various towns. Rouen offered a stout resistance for six months. At one stage, twelve thousand miserable beings were thrust out of the city by the combatants, and perished for lack of food and shelter in the sight of the besiegers, who, acting in the real spirit of boasted chivalry, would neither succour them nor give them passage through their lines. The contest was prolonged for upwards of two years. In May, 1420, a treaty was made with one of the factions. Henry was to marry the Princess Catherine; to govern France in the name of the imbecile Charles; and to succeed to the throne on his death; the Dauphin being set aside, and his party denounced as traitors. In August, 1422, Henry himself sickened and died at Vincennes, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, after a reign of nine years and a half; at the moment when he seemed about to grasp the object of his ambition; although it is certain he would not have been allowed to retain the prize without

long and fierce resistance. His widow, the French Princess, married Owen Tudor of Wales. Henry VII. was their grandson.

A Statute passed in the closing year of this reign shows how destructive the French campaign had been, and how dearly this country paid for the empty renown acquired. Owing chiefly to the wars, but partly to a recurrence of the Black Death, there were not suitable persons to fill the office of sheriffs. The King was therefore empowered to make appointments for the next four years outside the ranks of the nobility and gentry. England and France were so impoverished, both in men and money, that at the time of Henry's death scarcely a semblance of an army could be raised on either side. Yet when his barren victories occurred, like those in the time of Edward III., the English were for the time almost delirious with joy. The triumph dazzled them, and the temporary wealth brought by the booty and by the ransom of captives made them long for more. Presently the tide of success turned, and the heavy charges of carrying on the war astonished and then annoyed them. They began to question the use of these costly successes ; and then discovered, by a rude practical method of social economics, that, as usual, the few were benefiting at the expense of the many. Swift describes, in a forgotten passage of 'Gulliver's Travels,' the usual causes or pretexts for such wars.

Prior to his death, the King had made verbal arrangements for the custody and education of his infant son, only nine months old ; for the government of England ; and for a continuance of the campaign in France ; the Dauphin having, very naturally, refused to regard a compact made without his sanction. Parliament asserted its legitimate authority by modifying the plans in some important particulars. The Duke of Bedford (1389–1435), the late King's brother, was appointed Protector, instead of the Duke of Gloucester. The title of Regent was withheld, so far as concerned this country ; but Bedford was styled Regent of France, as a matter over which the Parliament had no control. As a check, a Council of sixteen members was nominated, whose advice was to be sought on all English

affairs. Gloucester protested; but in vain. His claim of an absolute Regency, without a Council, by virtue of his late brother's dying wish, was set aside. He was told that no power existed to make such an appointment without the concurrence of the Estates of the Realm. The action of Parliament in the matter of the Regency is an instance of constitutional growth, and of a salutary check upon prerogative. What is known as the Club Parliament of 1426, derived its name from the circumstance that when retainers of the barons were forbidden to appear armed, they carried clubs, until these, too, were prohibited.

During the long minority of Henry VI. (b. 1421, d. 1471), and for some time subsequently, the French War continued its calamitous course; only to end in ignominious failure. Bedford secured the proclamation in Paris of his infant nephew as King of France. He also obtained the adhesion of some of the powerful French nobles. But the Dauphin, son of the late Charles VI.—who died two months after Henry V.—had his own party; and between the supporters of both factions, the state of the country was wretched. The battle of Verneuil, in 1424, opened to the English a way into the large and fertile province of Maine, which was again taken possession of. A guerilla warfare was carried on under circumstances of barbarous ferocity. Each side swept over and desolated the land. When war was not actually raging, armed bands roamed at their pleasure, and subsisted by violence and plunder. The roads were unsafe; and life, honour, and property were at the mercy of these ruffians. Captives were held for exorbitant ransom. If not promptly paid, they were butchered without remorse. The rich were despoiled; the common people robbed and maltreated; women ravished; towns and villages plundered and burnt; woods and growing crops destroyed; churches laid desolate; and arable land left untilled. Paris was in a state of virtual blockade; and numbers perished of starvation. To add to the horrors, pestilence broke out, and proved fatal to thousands. From the Loire to the Seine, and from that river to the Somme, the country was a waste howling wilderness.

An agony of speechless woe lies behind the narration

of English victories in France from 1415 to 1435. It was the old and terrible story of the Furies that wait upon the footsteps of War; under whose promptings human beings become more ferocious than wild beasts. England had sown the wind; she soon reaped the whirlwind. The men who served in these wars returned debased and brutalized; familiar with the sight of bloodshed; indifferent to human suffering; regardless of the rights of property; defiant of all law save that of the stronger hand; and ripe, by force of habit, for any atrocity or violence. Hence the revolting character of the Wars of the Roses. The scenes of butchery enacted in the second battle at St. Alban's, February 17, 1461, and in that of Wakefield, December 31, 1460, were but the repetition of numberless tragedies performed thirty or forty years earlier in France and Normandy, and loudly applauded in England. Thomas Bazin, Bishop of Lisieux (1402–1491), was an eye-witness of the state to which at that time France was reduced. He says that from Chartres on the West to the frontiers of Hainault on the East, and to the North as far as Abbeville, all was a desert. A few patches of cultivated land or vineyard might here and there be seen; but very rarely, and never but in the immediate neighbourhood of a castle or a walled town. When the labourer ventured out, a watchman took his stand upon the watch-tower, that he might blow his horn on the approach of the enemy; never far distant. So familiar had the sound become, that the oxen and the sheep hurried homewards when they heard the note of warning. These are but faint outlines and whispered hints of the sufferings entailed upon a whole people. Yet it requires no great effort of fancy to complete the dismal story.

If the French nobles had been patriotic, such calamities would have been impossible. Their disloyalty gave Henry V. a pretext for interfering, and materially helped the English attacks. The conflict dragged on its weary length until 1428, when Joan of Arc, as she is commonly termed, *La Pucelle*, or the Maid of Orleans, appeared, like a modern Judith, to arouse the enthusiasm of her nation, and to inspire them with courage and hope. English Chroniclers, like Richard Grafton, whose books

—of little value—appeared in 1563 and 1569, represent her as a mere virago, or as a shameless trull; in accordance with the rough and brutal opinions that prevailed. Southey's epic is unworthy of the theme and of his powers. It ends where her real renown begins, and is excusable only on the ground of the writer's juvenility. Joan's short public life, commenced in glory, and finished in suffering, alternating from triumph to defeat, will always arrest attention and awaken sympathy. To the disgrace of the Duke of Bedford, she was burned in the market-place of Rouen, May 30, 1431, under a pretence of being a witch. Her death was her triumph. Out of the ashes of her holocaust regenerated liberty arose for France. In vain was the youthful Henry crowned in Paris. The disputes among French parties were healed. Two or three years passed in unimportant skirmishes. Bedford died, broken-hearted, at Rouen. A series of disasters began. Dieppe, Fécamp, Harfleur, Pointoise, and other important places were captured by the French, or had to be surrendered. Paris was lost. Calais alone successfully withstood a siege. Insurrections broke out in Normandy. In 1444, after untold loss and misery, a truce was effected for two years between the English and the French; afterwards extended until 1450.

Two reasons contributed to this. Annoyed and angry with the way in which so much treasure had been expended, the nobility refused to embark in any similar undertaking. When an appeal was made to the nation, the answer was that the necessary funds could no longer be provided. Moreover, England had enough to do at home. She was on the brink of a civil war of more than ordinary duration and ferocity, which engrossed all her energies, and prevented her from looking across the Channel. By the end of 1450, the whole of the beautiful and fertile country of Normandy had been wrested from the English, who, only a few years previously, possessed the greater part of France. Anjou and Maine had been previously surrendered to its titular duke, as part of a compact entered into at the marriage of his daughter to Henry VI. Guienne was annexed by France in 1452; and Gascony in the following year. Nothing remained but Calais; and this was threatened. During four cen-

turies, a sea of human blood had been spilt; countless treasures squandered; and nameless crimes and horrors perpetrated in vain attempts to retain or to win the Continental possessions. The small residuum was the renown of Crecy, Poictiers, and Azincourt. The loss of Maine, Anjou, Normandy, Gascony, and Guienne was, it must be repeated, a positive gain to England. Although the younger members of noble families loudly complained at the closing of hundreds of lucrative posts, which the occupancy of those large and wealthy districts had created, as was the case during and after the War for American Independence, the future of England's liberties was of far greater importance than the emoluments of scions of the nobility.

The long minority of Henry VI.; his unfortunate imbecility and occasional lunacy, inherited from his maternal grandfather—an awful Nemesis for the political and dynastic marriage of Henry V. with the daughter of a madman—and the wastefulness and disasters of the French wars, fomented intrigues and rivalries among the English nobles. Between the Duke of Gloucester, the King's uncle, and his great-uncle, the crafty and powerful Cardinal Beaufort, the jealousy was intense. After the suspected murder of the former, and the death of the latter, the feud was perpetuated by their respective partisans, and culminated in the fatal Wars of the Roses. Various songs and poems written immediately before the outbreak indicate the state of public feeling with reference to the bickerings of men high in position and of great influence. While Bedford and the Regents who succeeded him were vainly endeavouring to amalgamate France and England, the nobles and prelates were contending for mastery at home. Others, like the Catilines and Cethegi, having nothing to lose, thought that they might improve their fortunes by conspiracy, disorder, and rebellion. The preambles to the Statutes of the time, setting forth the reasons for their enactment, furnish vivid pictures of the troubled condition of the country. Taxation was unequal, arbitrary, and extortionate. There was much violence, lawlessness, tyranny, and oppression. Human life was held cheap. Belted knights ruthlessly murdered men for the sake of plunder.

The rich and powerful coveted more wealth ; interfered with the freedom of Parliamentary elections ; and did as they chose in local concerns. The owners of vast estates annexed contiguous properties, where the owners were too feeble to withstand "the little tyrants of their fields." The county-court jurisdiction often became a farce and a positive denial of justice ; for sheriffs connived at iniquity, and juries were packed or bullied. Numerous instances of this occur in the records. Thus it is complained that rough people in the Forest of Dean stopped vessels from Tewkesbury on their way down the Severn, and rifled their contents. Blackmail was levied by armed bands in various districts, under threats of incendiarism. An abbot went forth publicly with hired assassins to waylay and kill a rival. A son of the Earl of Devonshire, in 1455, with sixty men, set fire to a house, in order to compel a neighbour to come out ; and then murdered him, because of a feud. Armed retainers of great men sallied forth to assault, maim, murder, and rob. Anarchy seemed about to break loose ; as in the days of Stephen. Nothing but a strong government could put a stop to the evils. The yeoman, the tradesman, and the labourer alike were interested in the maintenance of law and order ; for the fruits of their industry were imperilled.

An outbreak, commonly known as the Jack Cade insurrection, occurred in 1450. The tradition followed by Shakspere represented it as the rising of an ignorant rabble, against laws and lawyers, learning and education, authority and property. Later researches have established beyond dispute that it was not so contemptible, either in numbers or in character ; but was supported in some districts by the entire population, of every grade. Its leader was an Irishman, who assumed the name of John Mortimer, and claimed descent from Lionel, third son of Edward III. At the head of a body said to number twenty thousand, mostly drawn from Surrey and Sussex, he marched through Kent to Blackheath. Among them were many women, and not a few esquires and gentlemen. As usual, the dragon's teeth already sown by misgovernment produced a crop of armed men. Stow, in his 'Annals,' prints two documents, professedly

handed in at the time, setting forth the complaints of the Commons of Kent, respecting Purveyance, bribes, enclosures, heavy and illegal taxes, vexatious indictments, imprisonment without trial, and interference with elections. Nothing is said about villenage, which had gradually died out since Wat Tiler's rising, seventy years before. The character of the two outbreaks materially differed. Cade and his followers advanced into the City ; proclaiming their objects to be the correction of public abuses and the removal of evil counsellors. There was a little pillaging, and some street-fighting. Lord Say, who had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious as Treasurer, was beheaded in Cheapside, after a rough kind of trial ; and some others of less note also had short shrift. The insurgents were induced to disperse, on a promise of the royal pardon ; as was the case in 1381 ; but Cade was followed and slain, and his head was exhibited on London Bridge. The pardons granted were annulled ; again following the former precedent. Many who had participated in the rising were executed. But as the moral and social causes continued, and as the actual grievances remained unredressed, the repression by brute force of that outburst of wild fury benefited no one and produced no domestic peace. Oppression and Revenge are Dioscuri ; as intimately connected as Castor and Pollux. The old system of mal-administration was persisted in. Its opponents, perceiving the certainty of popular support, prepared for that direct struggle which produced the most destructive Civil War that England has ever experienced. The tide of freedom was arrested for more than a century ; though it could not be wholly or permanently retarded.

Cade has suffered the usual fate of all reformers. Partisan writers in Tudor times represented him as an impostor, who claimed a royal pedigree ; as a noisy and ignorant ruffian, who aimed at plunder and mob government ; as one who hated education and intended to level the country to Communism. Writers of his own day furnish a different account. The courtly and worldly bishops charged the Wycliffites, or Lollards, as they were indifferently termed, with fomenting the disturbances. How far they are worthy of credence will appear

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from the case of Kemp, Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor, who died in 1454. He had been successively Bishop of Rochester, Chichester, and London, and Archbishop of York. Thomas Gascoigne (1403–1458), a clerical resident of Oxford University, says that Kemp's neglect of duty during his long episcopate from 1419 was uniformly scandalous. For nearly twenty-eight years, during which he was Archbishop of York, he was wholly absent from his diocese; except that once in ten or a dozen years he stayed there for two or three weeks. Such a prelate, of course, objected to sermons preached against pluralists, and condemnatory of the vices of the day. Gascoigne adds,—"The preachers of the Word of God, the most eminent doctors of the age, were traduced before the King and Council; when the real causes were the wrongs of the kingdom, the enormous taxes, the total failure of justice both in civil and ecclesiastical courts; so that, if the preachers had been silent, the stones, *i.e.*, the people, would have cried out."

The virtual usurpation of the throne by Henry IV. had been almost forgotten amidst the brilliant military career of his son. But a representative of the elder line of descent from Edward III. existed in Richard, Duke of York; the largest landowner in the realm. Through his mother, he claimed descent from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of that monarch; and, through his father, from the fifth son, Edmund, Duke of York. He advanced his pretensions on this double line; first, to a Protectorship, and then to the throne. The claim was absurd, as well as illegal; for the House of Lancaster reigned by long possession and by the vote of Parliament. The nerveless character of Henry VI., and his occasional attacks of imbecility, furnished a convenient excuse for setting up the plea. Viewed in itself, the prolonged squabble between the two rival branches was contemptible; but it had important bearings on the future of England. The intrigues of the Yorkists were successful for a season; but proved ruinous in the end. Baronial power was irretrievably shattered; and a way was prepared for Tudor absolutism, with its political retrogression. This was followed by Stuart imbecility and selfishness, which were

only purged out by the violent medicine of another Civil War. That in the fifteenth century rendered needful the Great Rebellion of the seventeenth; as it is absurdly called. The final result was to render for ever impossible a continuance of the regal tyranny begun during the Wars of the Roses.

The badges of the respective factions were a white rose for the House of York, and a red one for that of Lancaster. The first of the prolonged series of internecine contests took place at St. Alban's, May 22, 1455. During the next thirty years—or three more than the Peloponnesian war—there were fourteen pitched battles; ending with the decisive one on Bosworth Field, August 22, 1485; besides numerous local encounters. Alternations of victory and defeat followed so rapidly, and reverses of fortune were so sudden and startling, that men knew not what next might happen, or which side would ultimately win the day. As each party became dominant for a time, it sought to ruin the other; always by the use of strictly legal but unjust methods. Partisan Parliaments condemned and reversed the proceedings of their predecessors. Bills of Attainder without number were passed; a new and deadly device that involved wholesale forfeitures. A Statute had to be framed in the eleventh year of Henry VII., when the angry strife had ended from sheer exhaustion, providing that "no man for doing true and faithful service to the King for the time being, be convict or attaint of high treason, nor of other offences, by Act of Parliament or otherwise." Henceforth, the law of England annexed the subject's fidelity to the reigning monarch *de facto;* by whatever title he ascended the throne, and whoever else was the claimant. This constitutional principle has the weighty support of the eminent jurist, Sir John Fortescue (1395–1485), Chief Justice of the King's Bench under Henry VI., in his treatise 'De Laudibus Legum Angliæ.' He was governor to the young Prince of Wales during his minority in France; and wrote for the special instruction of his pupil. In such ways England was saved from the fate of Continental monarchies, in which popular liberties were crushed by encroachments of the Executive.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE BARONAGE SHATTERED.

A.D. 1455–1485.

For the long period of thirty years the Temple of Janus was not closed for England. The record of the fratricidal strife is wearisome and revolting. Great nobles on both sides summoned their armed retainers and all who wore their livery; and hired troops from across the Channel. Hardened and brutal mercenary soldiers, who had participated in the carnage and plunder of the French wars, practised similar barbarities at home. The combatants displayed diabolical ferocity. Battle-fields became shambles, and whole districts of the country an Aceldama. Survivors were butchered on the scaffold, after or without mock trials; and often with such prolonged torture as malignity could devise. Their senseless remains were mutilated and made a public show. Ruffians found abundant opportunities for riot and plunder. The Continuator of the Chronicle of Croyland describes the conduct of the victors after the Battle of Wakefield, December 31, 1460:—"They rushed like a whirlwind over England, and plundered without respect of persons or place. They attacked the churches, took away the vessels, books, and clothes, and even the sacramental pyxes, shaking out the Eucharist; and slew the priests who resisted. So they acted for a breadth of thirty miles, all the way from York nearly up to London." The Duke of York fell in that battle. His head was affixed over one of the gates of York; surmounted by a paper crown in derision of his claims. This act of feline spite was perpetrated by the express order of the Queen, Margaret of Anjou, and it brought speedy vengeance. His son, afterwards Edward IV., then only nineteen years of age, won the Battle of Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire, on February 2, 1461. Shortly afterwards he was acknowledged as King (b. 1441, r. 1461–1481), by an irregular proceeding in London; though his position continued to be precarious. Virtually, Henry VI. ceased to reign. He was not deposed by any competent autho-

rity, nor had legislative sanction yet been given to his rival's informal nomination. A sanguinary battle fought at Towton, in Yorkshire, March 29, 1461, ended in the rout of the Lancastrians; with an alleged loss of twenty-eight thousand men. Edward sullied his victory by ordering some of the nobles among his prisoners to be decapitated. Their heads were placed on the gate at York, in revenge for the indignity to his father.

Thus far, Edward's title had been based solely on success. In those troubled times, when the strife resembled that of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, men were not inclined to dispute so potent an argument. But the overthrow of the House of Lancaster was in no sense a national act. The rival claimant was crowned in June, 1461; and in the following November, Parliament pronounced the reigns of the last three kings "a tyrannical usurpation," and delared Edward "rightfully seised of the Crown." He was voted the Customs' duties for life; which continued to form the main source of revenue, and relieved him of dependence upon Parliament; unless foreign war broke out, involving extraordinary outlay; and this he was determined to avoid. He added to his wealth by lucrative trade ventures with the Low Countries. Royal grants made since 1399 were revoked, with a few exceptions; but judicial decrees were left untouched. It would have been hazardous to interfere with them. A lengthy list of persons, from Henry VI. down to a number of esquires, were adjudged traitors; by the summary process of a sweeping Bill of Attainder. The list included many who had fallen on the fields of battle. The large estates thereby confiscated were bestowed upon expectant and greedy supporters of the new monarch, or were added to the royal domains; which embraced at least one-fifth of the land. It was a dangerous precedent to stamp as illegal a dynasty that had existed for sixty years, and to confirm by an express measure all that had been enacted during that time; as if the Statutes were void without such confirmation.

Margaret of Anjou escaped to the Continent, and entreated support in France, as she had done in Scotland; but the forces thus gathered were dispersed in two battles at Hedgley Moor and at Hexham, in April and

May, 1464. The unfortunate Henry was captured, and brought to London; where he was kept a prisoner during seven stormy years that broke over his rival. Edward had alienated the powerful, wealthy, but unscrupulous and treacherous Earl of Warwick—popularly known as the King-maker—and other influential supporters, by secretly marrying Elizabeth Woodville, daughter of the widow of the Duke of Bedford by a subsequent union. Her numerous relatives were enriched, and promoted to posts of honour; to the annoyance and jealousy of other clamorous courtiers. Warwick watched his opportunity. Insurrection was fomented in the North. More battles took place; with the customary fluctuating results. Warwick went to France and openly allied himself with Margaret of Anjou; whose son, the Prince of Wales, was married to Warwick's daughter. Returning to England his friends rallied to his support. He released Henry VI. from durance in the Tower; again had him proclaimed King, and set forth to the Midland counties in search of Edward; whose supporters melted away. He fled to Lynn and crossed to the Hague, where he remained for six months; friendless, and almost penniless. In his turn, he was denounced as a usurper by the Parliament held in 1470, under Warwick's auspices; but the next year he landed on the Yorkshire coast with a few hundred soldiers of fortune, whose aid had been purchased with a loan made by his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy, and with the assistance of the Hanseatic League and other great trading corporations of Flanders and the Low Countries; whose commerce with England was threatened. His brother, the Duke of Clarence, who had married another daughter of Warwick's, deserted the latter, and joined Edward with a small force.

Defections of this kind were constantly taking place from one side to the other, and back again; as interest, or malevolence, or fear prompted; and with no sense of shame. Warwick's brother, the Archbishop of York, who had been left in charge of London, while Warwick marched to Coventry, made over the trust to some of Edward's friends; and the unhappy Henry was once more incarcerated in the Tower. The citizens effusively

welcomed his rival; who went out to encounter Warwick on April 14, 1471, at Barnet. The King-maker was slain. His policy had been selfish and treacherous; and his death was an unquestionable boon to the country. The same day, Queen Margaret landed at Weymouth; and, with such friends as could be gathered, marched toward Wales. Edward met them on May 4, at Tewkesbury, and the battle ended in their complete overthrow. The Queen was among the prisoners; and remained in captivity until 1476, when she was ransomed by Louis XI. of France; after which she drops out of history. A darker fate hung over her husband. On May 20, 1471, Edward returned to London. The next day it was announced that Henry had died of grief and melancholy. The actual circumstances were never known. They are as impenetrable as those connected with the Man in the Iron Mask. A like mystery surrounds Henry's son, the Prince of Wales. Shakspere, following the Tudor annalists, represents him as having been murdered in the presence of Edward and of his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester; both of whom are said to have stabbed him. Of this, there is no proof; and Richard was then only a youth of eighteen. His brother Edward's conduct was cruel and unscrupulous; and shows the spirit of the age. Sword in hand, he pursued a number of the defeated party to the abbey church of Tewkesbury. A priest met him at the door, carrying the Host, and exacted a promise that the right of sanctuary should not be invaded, as the Duke of Somerset and fourteen other persons had taken refuge there. In violation of this solemn pledge, and of the sacredness that universally attached to such edifices, the fugitives were dragged out, and beheaded without a trial.

Of Henry VI. it may be said that his personal character commanded respect, even from his enemies. His misfortunes still claim sympathy. He fell, not because he tried to govern unconstitutionally, but because he failed, through sheer incompetence, to govern at all. Blakman, a Carthusian monk, who was on intimate terms with him, has left a touching account of his private life. It appears to have been simple, chaste, devout, and dignified. In his lucid intervals, he did much to promote education. He founded Eton College, and also King's College at

Oxford; by a vicarious generosity not uncommon among royal benefactors; mainly out of the proceeds of alien priories. An example for this had been set by his father, and Wolsey copied it for his educational foundations in Ipswich and Oxford. The Battle of Tewkesbury established Edward IV. on the throne; and for fourteen years there was a lull in the strife. He revived the claims upon France; on the same shadowy plea that had been advanced by his predecessors. The loss and suffering entailed by the former wars were forgotten. Liberal aid was voted by Parliament. He supplemented this by what were ironically called Benevolences, or free gifts; extorted mainly from wealthy merchants and traders; lists of whom were diligently made and carefully preserved. He is reputed to have been eminently successful in this process with ladies; for he was comely in appearance, plausible in speech, and gracious in manner. Holinshed traditionally relates one instance of this fascination. A wealthy city widow was asked how much she would subscribe. She said,—"For thy sweet face thou shalt have twenty pounds." As it was more than Edward expected, he rewarded the old lady with a gallant salute; which so delighted her that she doubled the gift. This method of replenishing the Exchequer was illegal, and gave rise to much disaffection. Refusal to contribute, or offering smaller gifts than were expected, was sure to be visited with the royal displeasure. So obnoxious was the system, that one of the earliest enactments in the brief reign of Richard III. was directed to its suppression. It was made to furnish a precedent for the system of Forced Loans under Henry VIII. and Charles I. Another device was to borrow large sums from the merchants at Calais, and from the famous family of the Medici, the princely merchant-bankers of Florence; then growing rich by the Oriental trade which was forsaking Genoa, owing to its internal dissensions and the conquests of the Turks.

In 1475, having secured the requisite means, Edward crossed to Calais, at the head of sixteen thousand men; and marched to Peronne. The state of the country rendered it inadvisable for Louis XI. to engage in a conflict. Like an astute diplomatist, he made secret bribes to such of the English nobles as he knew to be

disaffected ; and he offered Edward seventy-five thousand crowns, with an annuity of fifty thousand, to effect the Treaty of Pecquigny. The offer was accepted ; with pusillanimous prudence ; and it helped to render him still more free of legislative grants. The unexpected and dishonoured termination of a campaign entered upon with so much pomp, and at so great a cost, gave rise to murmurs and protests. Further troubles arose in the King's family ; aud in particular with his brother, the Duke of Clarence. A Bill of Attainder was passed in 1478 ; and a shroud of impenetrable mystery surrounds his death in the Tower. Five years later, Edward himself closed an eventful but inglorious career, at the early age of forty-one. The nobler qualities that gave promise, on his accession, of future excellence, were lost in the selfishness, indolence, licentiousness, and frivolity of his mature years. He was a good soldier, but a bad general ; a jovial companion, but a poor statesman. He showed himself devoid of moral capacity to use the high position won by his youthful courage. He loved too well to "tread the primrose path of dalliance." Vicious, extortionate, relentless, he had few redeeming qualities. During his reign, Parliament seldom met ; for he was financially independent. The country was virtually under martial law. For the first time in two hundred years, the Statute Book does not record a single enactment in favour of public rights, or in restraint of abuses ; nor were any measures of the kind so much as proposed in the whole course of the reign.

When Edward IV. died, his son, the titular Prince of Wales, was only thirteen years of age. His uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester (b. 1452, r. 1483–1485), was then in his thirty-first year. He was able and courageous, and had shown great administrative capacity in various high posts. He was left Guardian to the Prince and his younger brother. Richard has been represented by Tudor annalists and dramatists as a physical deformity ; as a monster of wickedness ; wily, unscrupulous, and hypocritical ; deliberately plotting and remorselessly executing atrocious crimes. His career is a psychological puzzle ; but, in judging him, the character of the age, and the peculiar circumstances arising from the Civil

Wars, must be remembered. At such a time, the minority of a prince was threatening to the peace of the nation, and a strong hand was needed to rule the country. There had been for the chief part of a century, with rare intervals, intrigues, struggles, and battles for regal power. The throne was virtually elective. The King was only the head of a turbulent body of barons. All this must be considered in forming an estimate of Richard III. He had inordinate ambition, of the vaulting kind which o'erleaps itself. It is manifest that he adopted violent and unpardonable means to gain a sceptre. He secured the coveted robes of sovereignty; and they proved like Vulcan's gift to Harmonia. His young nephew was proclaimed, under the title of Edward V. Richard was the first to swear allegiance. The coronation was fixed for June 22, 1483; and the Council, with the approval of the nobles and prelates, appointed Richard to the office of Protector of the kingdom during the minority. When the idea of seizing the crown and of displacing his nephew first occurred, or what were the initial steps taken to ensure adherents, cannot now be known. Great crimes are often the result of a sudden impulse, acting under a sudden temptation conspiring with opportunity; which Dryden calls "the strong seducer."

Parliament met in the following January, and confirmed an informal offer of the Crown that had been made to Richard by such of the members as were in London during the previous Summer. The legal plea set up was that the children of the late King were illegitimate; owing to a pre-contract before his marriage. The true reason was a dread of disturbances during a minority. Richard's title was declared perfect in itself, by the laws of God and Nature; by the customs of the realm and the opinions of the wise; by right of blood and of inheritance, as well as by lawful election. He had been crowned with much pomp on July 6, 1483, in Westminster Abbey. The rite was repeated on September 8th in York Minster. He was well known in the Northern counties, where he had formerly administered the Government under his brother; and the exceptional act of a second coronation probably arose from a desire to gratify his friends there

and to secure the adhesion of others. He made a progress through the Midland districts on his way back to London. During this time it seems that the dark and dismal tragedy was enacted in the Tower with which his name stands indissolubly connected in common fame. When, by whom, and under what circumstances the two Princes were murdered, and whether it was the result of a pre-concerted plan, are questions that cannot be answered; though legend and conjecture have spun many theories. Two centuries afterwards, skeletons corresponding to the ages of the unfortunate youths were found at the foot of a staircase in the Tower, in the very spot where the hasty interment was said to have taken place; but this is one of the many mysteries which the grim walls of the Tower entomb in silence. Richard did not attempt to disprove a charge that was ominously and secretly whispered. It strengthened itself by constant repetition; and the popular belief accepted minute details that were freely asserted and magnified by rumour. The absence of positive proof of the death of the Princes served as a pretext for several impostors in the next reign.

The new Sovereign exhibited the same vigour and capacity for government that had marked his administration under his brother. A register is in existence of upwards of two thousand documents which passed the Privy Seal or the Sign-Manual during his two years' tenure of the throne. These, with a large number of his letters and instructions to ambassadors, and other State Papers, show much activity, zeal, prudence, and ability under trying and difficult circumstances. Lord Bacon, the biographer of his rival and successor, bears testimony to "his politic and wholesome laws"; an admission of no small importance, emanating from the highest legal authority in the realm, and from a man of such character and ability. Various abuses were rectified; such as those relating to fines, feoffments, and tenures. Admirable regulations were introduced for transferring landed property, and giving security to purchasers against secret feoffments. Edicts were issued against gambling, and for the encouragement of the English pastime of archery. The general line of domestic policy during this short reign—apart from the

one dark blot on its escutcheon—denotes mingled ability and patriotism.

Trouble was impending; not from the disaffection of his subjects, taken as a whole, but from the intrigues and jealousy of restless nobles, and from the treachery of some whom he had loaded with favours. The Earl of Richmond, the chief living representative of the rival House of Lancaster, had made one ineffectual attempt to head a rising, and was now engaged in extensive preparations in Brittany to invade England, with the connivance and help of his party at home. Richard, who was no coward, whatever his crimes or faults, adopted instant measures. Richmond landed at Milford Haven August 6, 1485, with some three thousand hireling adventurers; and was joined by his adherents. He marched by Shrewsbury and Stafford towards Leicester, where Richard awaited him; and the two hostile armies encamped on the spot that became famous as the scene of the Battle of Bosworth Field. Though the united forces did not exceed twenty-eight thousand men, there had not been so decisive a battle on English soil since that of Hastings. As its importance consisted in the fall of Harold, so did that of Bosworth in the fall of Richard. It was his Cannæ. The encounter took place on August 22nd. Richard himself fought with great valour; and victory seemed inclining to his side, when Stanley and three other disaffected lords who had been wavering, went over with their troops and turned the scale. Richmond (b. 1457, r. 1485-1509) was proclaimed on the battle-field by the title of Henry VII.; not as the result of a national movement, but by the military mercenaries who attended him, and the caitiffs who had abandoned his rival. The nation needed peace; but this could only be secured through a firm government. In their dread of a return to anarchy, men did not think enough of constitutional safeguards. The royal power unduly magnified itself. Parliamentary restraints were lessened, because Parliament had become to a large extent the instrument of a tyrannical nobility of about forty members, who packed the Lower House with their own creatures.

The prolonged contest of the Wars of the Roses was

peculiarly fatal to persons of rank. The ancient nobility of England was almost annihilated, by what can only be designated as political suicide. Never again did they recover their old authority. The noble houses fell, and many of them were extirpated root and branch, because they deserved to fall. They had been turbulent, aggressive, and self-seeking. The strength of their position had been misused to oppress their social inferiors; sometimes under the forms of law, but often in spite of law. They had been weakened and depleted by the prolonged French wars. Changed conditions of warfare, and especially the invention of gunpowder and the introduction of cannon, were fatal to their old supremacy. Mailed barons and knights, with their armed esquires, and the crowds of retainers, no longer held in their hands the fortunes of battles. The old-fashioned methods of reducing castles and towns by investment and starvation, gave place to storming and capture after a breach had been made by somewhat rude artillery. The growth of towns, and the rise of the middle and trading classes during two centuries, as traced in previous chapters, had slowly effected great political and social changes; graphically described in Lytton's 'Last of the Barons.'

By these various causes, the power of the baronage was irretrievably shattered. No fewer than eighty princes and nobles of the blood royal of England lost their lives during the Wars of the Roses; in battle; by murder; or on the scaffold. At Towton, three earls and ten lords of the Lancastrian party, besides a number of knights and gentlemen were found dead on the field. In the first Parliament of Edward IV., long before the conclusion of the contest, the nobility of England was represented by one duke, four earls, one viscount, and twenty-nine barons; all the nobles of the Lancastrian party having been killed or executed, or having fled into foreign countries to save their lives. There were only sixty-six Peers at the close of Elizabeth's reign. It has been computed, in somewhat conjectural fashion, that upwards of one hundred thousand Englishmen were slain in the strife. This number does not include all who perished in skirmishes; in marauding parties; in private warfare; by assassination; by the axe and the halter; and by open

murder. Besides this sacrifice of human life, terrible sufferings must have been endured by innocent and helpless persons, from the lawlessness of the rival factions. Hall, the Chronicler, in narrating the events of this tragical period, which terminated only fourteen years before his birth, justly remarks on the unnatural conflict. Fathers, sons, and brothers fought against one another. Shakspere, in the Third Part of the play of 'King Henry the Sixth,' has dramatized with intense force what must have been too common a spectacle. Of the domestic misery no accurate estimate can be formed. Such matters are but scantily noticed by the older Chroniclers. It has been erroneously argued that popular rights and commercial industry were not interfered with, but that the country pursued its way as usual during those thirty years. Such could scarcely have been the case when it is recorded that in 1461, at the second Battle of St. Alban's, the mercenaries in Queen Margaret's army indiscriminately pillaged and outraged along their route. They only set forth upon their raid on the assurance that this would be permitted as a guerdon for their services. Over all such scenes Time has mercifully cast an impenetrable veil; just as Nature, with gentle hand, obliterates from her bosom the marks of deadly strife in the battle-field.

Henry VII. was aware that his title to the Crown by hereditary descent was defective. Through his father, he could trace back only to the second marriage of the widow of Henry V. with Owen Tudor of Wales. On his mother's side, he was great-grandson of John of Gaunt; but with an illegitimate taint. He put forward his claim in a tentative fashion; coupling with it, in his speech to the Commons, what he called "the sure judgment of God," as revealed in giving him the victory over Richard III. He did not wish to appear as reigning by right of the sword; still less as a usurper. Parliament evaded the difficulty by declaring that before it met he was King *de facto*. No reasons were assigned. Silence was discreet. By a legal fiction, the reign was antedated, as commencing the day before the Battle of Bosworth. Richard and his adherents were made to appear as waging treasonable warfare against the lawful Sovereign;

a convenient plea and a colourable excuse for confiscating their property. To secure the throne for his heirs, and to unite, by a projected marriage with Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV., the two rival houses, without letting the inconvenient fact appear that she really had stronger claims in her own person, various Acts were annulled and other legislative legerdemain was practised with successful dexterity. Vibius Rufus, having married Cicero's widow and purchased Cæsar's chair, thought he had acquired the eloquence of the one and the power of the other.

Apart from all legal refinements, the noteworthy point is that as a regal figure-head was deemed needful for the ship of State, the Legislature accepted the situation, and recognised in due form what was found to be already in existence. The matter was clenched by a Bull of Innocent the Eighth's, in March, 1486; declaring that Henry was King, not only by right of conquest, and by undoubted succession, but also by choice of the whole realm. Any possible inconvenience from the supposed claims of Edward, Earl of Warwick, son of the unfortunate Duke of Clarence, and nephew of Edward IV., was obviated by lodging the poor lad, then only ten years old, in the Tower, for the next fourteen years. He was then tried and beheaded for pretended conspiracy. Jealousy of the rival house became a morbid dread. Its adherents are constantly branded in State documents of the time as chargeable with rebellion and want of patriotism. The name of Richard III. is invariably mentioned with the formula of "King in deed, but not in right." Both he and Henry VII. were usurpers; in the strict sense of the word. Both had to encounter rebellions at home and rivals abroad. Richard, however, was the last of a line of soldier-princes; while Henry founded a dynasty of statesmen. The standard of public morality was not high in that age; but this arrangement was preferable to mere force and violence, to family intrigues and incessant anarchy.

CHAPTER XXXI.

BEGINNINGS OF TUDOR ABSOLUTISM.

A.D. 1485–1509.

THE early years of the reign of Henry VII. were disturbed by several impostors; claiming connection with other branches of the royal family. Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck were the chief. They were put up as puppets by powerful nobles, or by France and other Continental foes; but the attempts failed. The country would not favour the pretenders. Their few adherents were arrested and beheaded for high treason: an elastic term, capable of being stretched to include almost anything. The most prominent victim was Stanley, who had deserted Richard on Bosworth Field; and now reaped the reward of his perfidy. The confiscated wealth helped to swell the growing hoards of the King, and thus to render him independent of the control of Parliaments. Only two were summoned during the last thirteen years of his reign. He levied arbitrary and excessive fines; and claimed two Aids for the knighting of his son and for the marriage of his daughter to James IV. of Scotland. No opportunity had arisen for making such a claim for a century and a half. Edmund Dudley, Speaker of the House of Commons, and one Richard Empson, were his chief instruments of fiscal extortion. They tried to enforce this demand, and would have succeeded, by the help of obsequious members, whom Bacon designates a flock of sheep. The proposal had passed the second reading; when, according to a tradition commonly received, Sir Thomas More (1480–1535), then only about twenty-three years of age, opposed it with such arguments that it was rejected. Bishop Stubbs suggests that More's action was more probably restricted to lessening the amount granted. Empson and Dudley were unscrupulous lawyers, with a vulture-like keenness and ferocity for despoiling the nation. They were useful to the King; but, as is the manner with such parasites, they did not forget to enrich themselves. They were fertile in expedients to extort money in the form of taxes

or fines. Feudal tenures that had fallen into desuetude during the Wars of the Roses were revived ; as were dormant Statutes that imposed money payments for many offences ; real or imaginary. Outlawries were an endless and lucrative source of wealth to these harpies, as well as to their insatiable master ; and it is not surprising that they were regarded with odium.

Yet there was another, an easier, and a far more effectual way that might have been followed in this juncture, for extending the influence and increasing the resources of England ; and it would have spared all the unpopularity and risk. If Henry VII. could but have foreseen the issue of the great projects then being formed by France, Spain, and Portugal for Transatlantic navigation, he might have attained a potentiality of wealth that would have realized even his dreams of avarice. Christopher Columbus, of Genoa, through his brother Bartholomew, volunteered his services in 1489 as an explorer in opening up what was then conjectured to be a Western route to India ; independent of Moslem fanatics in Arabia. Hence the names incorrectly but inalienably given to the West Indies and to the North American Indians. Columbus died in the belief that he had landed on the Eastern shores of India. He cared only to discover that famous land of spices and gold. Trade with the Orient was the coveted prize of the ancient world. To secure it, Rome destroyed Palmyra ; conquered Egypt ; and struggled for mastery over the Tigris. Columbus had no knowledge of the vast Pacific Ocean. He did not, as is sometimes represented, first imagine or reason out the existence of a New World, and then discover it by his own devices ; but, in seeking a route to India, he forged the last link of a long chain, beginning with the attempts of the ancient Tyrians to penetrate Westward through the Pillars of Hercules—the Straits of Gibraltar—and followed at intervals by later theorists and explorers. The discovery was not a single event, but it resulted from a gradual process of evolution ; minutely traced by Justin Winsor and by John Fiske in their great works on Columbus and on America. The Portuguese, under the inspiration of Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460), fourth son of John I., by

Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, had been slowly creeping along the Western coast of Africa since 1420, and it appeared for some time as if their country would attain the proud position of Mistress of the Seas.

Henry VII., with all his astuteness, of a selfish kind, does not appear to have been sagacious enough to avail himself of the proposal made by Columbus. He would not risk anything upon a venture which, with the aid of the magnetic compass, then coming into use, was to lift the veil that hung across the Western horizon, and disclose another hemisphere. Richard Hakluyt, however, writing a century later, makes an unauthenticated statement, that Bartholomew Columbus, being captured by pirates, did not reach England until after his brother had sailed on his first voyage. He had turned once more to Spain, and at last, after eighteen weary years of waiting, secured from Ferdinand and Isabella the desired sanction; with a cheap permission to procure from others the still more needful pecuniary aid. The monarchs risked very little; though, in the event of success, they were to gain largely. Columbus sailed from Palos, August 3, 1492, and from the Canaries on the sixth of September. After an eventful voyage of thirty-six days across the Sea of Darkness, he landed on one of the Bahamas on the twelfth of October. It is certain that he never saw any part of the territory of what is now known as the United States, nor did he explore the South. His succeeding voyages, and those of Francis Pizarro (1471–1541) and of Fernando Cortez (1485–1544) at a later day, whetted curiosity and awoke a lust for plunder. Columbus was rewarded with neglect, and died in poverty, in 1536, at Valladolid; just at the time when Copernicus was developing his theory of the Solar System. The very name of the great Western Continent was derived from another voyager, Amerigo Vespucci; not from any assumption of his own, but from imperfect information disseminated in a small Latin treatise on cosmography, published in 1507 by Martin Waldseemüller, at St. Dié, in Lorraine. Fabulous wealth eventually rolled in upon Spain, after the conquests of Mexico and Peru. It proved to be anything but an unmixed boon. Pope Alexander VI., in 1493, assigned the new and unknown territory to

Spain ; and afterwards sought to mediate between that country and Portugal, to whom his predecessor had made vague but lavish grants, in the dense geographical ignorance then prevailing. An imaginary line was drawn from North to South, one hundred leagues West of the Azores and the Cape de Verd islands—soon increased to three hundred and seventy leagues—beyond which everything was assigned to Spain. The unintended result was to place Portugal in possession of the vast territory now included in Brazil. At a later date, England derided titles based, not upon occupation or actual use, but on vague awards of Popes : heedless of similar grants of England to William I., and of Ireland to Henry II.

Simultaneously with the Transatlantic voyages, there was another great exploration Eastwards. Vasco da Gama (1469–1525), following the example of Bartholomew Diaz, eleven years earlier, doubled what was first known as the terrible Cape of Storms, and then as the Cape of Good Hope, in 1497. Proceeding onwards, da Gama opened up a direct sea route to India, which proved fatal to the commercial supremacy so long enjoyed by Genoa and Venice of an overland trade with the East. The Atlantic discoveries removed the mercantile centre of the world, and changed the whole current of the political, social, and religious history of Europe. They contributed also to the emancipation of the human soul from its obsequious bondage to scientific, theological, and priestly dogmatism. Camoens (1524–1579), author of the 'Lusiad,' the first epic of modern times, was directly inspired by his countrymen's discovery of the sea-route to India. Nineteen years after Diaz sighted Brazil, in 1500, and took nominal possession of that country for Portugal, Ferdinand Magelhaens, or Magellan (1470–1521), a Portuguese in the Spanish service, passed through the Straits that bear his name, and was the first European to sail across the Pacific and to circumnavigate the globe. The feat was not repeated until 1577, by Drake.

England had accomplished something, however, in the way of maritime discovery. Within five years of the sailing of Columbus on his first voyage, Henry sent out John and Sebastian Cabot, father and son, of Genoese extraction, but citizens of Venice by long residence, in

quest of regions in the North-Western parts beyond the Atlantic; to which, according to Norse Sagas, the Vikings had drifted, by way of Iceland and Greenland, five or six hundred years before. The Cabots were renowned and intrepid mariners, and the earliest to frame reliable charts. They had settled in Bristol; whence they sailed May 2, 1497, and a second time in the following year, and established a footing in Labrador. It seems probable, also, from their statements, that they sighted what are now called Prince Edward Island, Anticosti, and the Northern parts of Newfoundland. Its inexhaustible cod-fisheries were speedily opened up to the hardy enterprise of the Bretons and the Basques, as well as to the English. In this indirect, partial, and unconscious sense, by being the patron of the Cabots, Henry VII. may be loosely described as the founder of England's colonial empire. His Letters-Patent authorized the Cabots to navigate in any direction under the English flag, at their own costs and charges, in search of unknown lands; one-fifth of all the profits accruing to the King, in return for his leave and patronage.

Sebastian afterwards transferred his services to Spain for various periods; but he is frequently mentioned in English records of the time as holding positions and receiving payments. He was appointed governor for life of a company incorporated by Charter, December 18, 1531, by the name of the Mysterie and Companie of the Merchant Adventurers for the Discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and Places unknown; which received a second Charter in 1555 from Philip and Mary, with a renewal of Cabot's pension. It was subsequently called the Muscovy or Russia Company. In the reign of Edward III. nearly all the commerce of England was carried in foreign vessels; but by the time of Henry VII. the great bulk of the trade was in English hands. The Navy of England can scarcely be regarded as existing before the end of the fifteenth century. Piracy, outrage, and robbery were kept in check along the coast, and at the entrance to harbours and rivers, at the expense of merchants and shipowners. 'The Libel of English Policie,' a poem written about the year 1430, furnishes valuable illustrations of the mercantile position of England

with reference to Flanders, Portugal, Spain, Germany, and the Mediterranean. Its burden is an exhortation to England to keep the narrow sea; "showing what profit cometh thereof, and also what worship and salvation to all Englishmen." The spirit breathed throughout is that which animated the sea-captains and merchant-adventurers of Elizabeth's time. Practically, the Navy dates from the reign of Henry VIII., when commissioners of docks and storehouses were appointed at Deptford and Woolwich. The Trinity Corporation received a Royal Charter in 1514; but it was founded in the previous reign as an association of mariners for purposes of piloting along the Thames. Its powers were enlarged to embrace the entire coasts. Under Elizabeth the care of buoys and beacons was committed to it.

The date and place of Cabot's death are unknown. The earliest distinct reference to Columbus in any English book is in Henry Watson's translation of the German poet, Sebastian Brandt's 'Narrenschiff,' or the 'Shyppe of Fooles'; a satire upon the follies and vices of the time. Issued at Basle in 1494, it was published in London by Wynkyn de Worde, Caxton's colleague and successor, early in the next century. Another translation, with copious notes and paraphrases, was issued by Alexander Barclay in 1508. The Interlude of the 'Four Elements,' written between 1515 and 1520, refers to the partial explorations of North America, and dimly suggests possibilities of trade that were abundantly realized long afterwards. For nearly fifty years, no English Chronicler or Annalist mentions either Columbus or the Cabots; nor is there any indication that the significance of the discoveries across the Western Ocean was understood out of Spain; which took care to treat them as a secret monopoly, to be guarded with jealous care. The French also began to explore North America as early as 1504; and within thirty years had straggling settlements along the St. Lawrence; associated with the name of Jacques Cartier, and, subsequently, with that of Samuel de Champlain.

Occasionally, when Henry VII. was in difficulties, the old plan was revived of summoning a Great Council,

chiefly of nobles, instead of a Parliament; not for purposes of advice in a political crisis, but as an expeditious method of raising money. In one of these pseudo-legislative assemblies, in June, 1491, the illegal custom of a Benevolence was resorted to, in view of a pretended war with France. It was a mere pretext. Hostilities were never seriously contemplated. As the chief lords and prelates, and a few representatives from the principal mercantile towns, were informally convened, a factitious weight was given to the unconstitutional procedure. The practice of a direct application, by way of favour, on the part of the head of the State to wealthy private individuals, was certain to be abused; the more so that it was carried on under the professed sanction of law. Cardinal Morton (1410–1500), a prelate of great ability, but a rapacious pluralist and time-server, and a pensioner of Louis XI. of France, is credited with being the author of instructions issued to the commissioners appointed to solicit, or, in other words, to levy this Benevolence. One Article was familiarly known as Morton's Fork. According to Lord Bacon, the commissioners were instructed, "if they met any that were sparing, they should tell them that they must needs have, because they laid up; and if they were spenders, they must needs have, because it was seen in their port and manner of living: so neither kind came amiss." Bacon's remark that Henry's wars "were always to him as a mine of treasure," is warranted by the manner in which a Subsidy of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds and a loan of forty thousand were secured in 1497, under another false plea of an impending war with Scotland. It provoked risings in the West of England, which were suppressed. Most of the ringleaders were pardoned on the usual terms of submitting to heavy fines. In such ways, as on a systematic plan, involving financial artifices more than equivocal, Henry turned everything to pecuniary profit. The money went into the royal coffers, or was invested in jewels.

The same parsimonious spirit was displayed in sundry futile attempts to bring about an early marriage for his eldest son, Prince Arthur (1486–1502). A contract was effected, after the customary higgling, with Katharine,

daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. Repeated delays arose; and on several occasions the engagement seemed likely to come to an abrupt ending; principally on the question of money. Finally, the wedding took place in November, 1501; the Prince being just over fifteen years of age, and his wife a year older. He had always been weakly; and he only survived until the following April. The grief of his father was soon turned into anxiety about the agreed dowry; only half of which had been paid. The King, having once received it, was averse to relinquish his hold. On the other hand, Ferdinand not only concluded that the remaining instalment was cancelled, but that the amount actually paid ought to be refunded, and his daughter placed in possession of the jointure which Henry had contracted to pay. The latter had the indecency to propose to marry the young widow, if a Papal dispensation could be obtained. A way was found out of the unseemly wrangle by permission from Rome to set aside the difficulty of the prohibited degree of consanguinity, in order to contract Katharine to her late husband's younger brother, Henry; then in his tenth year. The ultimate result, unforeseen and unintended, through the illegality of the Pope in granting the required leave, was important for the subsequent course of English history; as was the marriage of Henry's daughter, Margaret, to James IV. of Scotland, in 1503; which led, a century afterwards, to the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland. The matrimonial schemes of Henry VII. do not leave much to choose as to morality and honour between him and his son; but the details are unworthy of resurrection.

More important is the extension of criminal procedure, which developed in the course of years into a new instrument of tyranny. First, however, the functions and jurisdiction of Justices of the Peace were enlarged. They were empowered to institute preliminary inquiries in all criminal charges; to take bail for the appearance of the accused at the Assizes; and to sit in Quarter Sessions for the trial of certain cases, with a jury. The initial powers of the Grand Jury were conferred. A tentative effort was made towards a licensing system for ale-

houses; which was further extended in the time of Edward VI. Presidents and Councils of Wales, of the North, and of the Scottish Marches were appointed, with delegated authority from the Privy Council. This stretch of power was unquestionably illegal, and it led to harsh and arbitrary rule that developed into tyranny under Strafford's administration in the time of Charles I. The county of Lancaster, the seat of the ancestral possessions of Henry VII., retained its own Chancery when it became a special appanage of the Crown; an archaic anomaly that still exists. The Court of Star Chamber, dating from this period, was not a new jurisdiction, but merely a specific application of the authority exercised over all subjects of the realm in ancient times by the King's Council. The name—*Camera Stellata*—was conjecturally taken from the decoration of the chamber in which the proceedings were conducted; although the actual derivation is unknown. The original design was to deal with matters which could not be conveniently settled by the regular Courts; and especially to put a stop to the social disorders, the reckless party struggles, the abuse of Liveries, and the maintenance of armed banditti by the great nobles; with the informal and arbitrary procedure then witnessed in local baronial and county courts.

The enactment of 1486, conferring special powers, provided that the Chancellor, the Treasurer, and the Keeper of the Privy Seal, or two of them, calling to their aid a bishop, a temporal lord of the Council, and two of the judges, and acting without a jury, might summon misdoers charged with the above offences, and examine them, and also witnesses, and decree such punishment as appertained to the due course of law. Nothing was said or hinted about libels or political misdemeanours; but such a tribunal must have had from the outset strong temptations to strain its authority. Whatever may have been its original utility in punishing powerful evil-doers, and in suppressing local lawlessness, the Star Chamber soon developed into an engine of despotism. Constant usage, and added powers or assumptions of authority in later reigns, strengthened the usurped functions, until this autocratic and illegal tribunal—so alien to the spirit

of the ancient English Areopagos—reached a height of tyranny under Queen Elizabeth, and still more under the Stuarts, which proved unendurable. This irresponsible tribunal, whose vast, secret, and dangerous powers can only be compared to the dreaded Council of Ten in the Venetian Republic, was swept away, shortly after the assembling of the Long Parliament, in 1640, by a mighty wave of public indignation.

The new centralized form of government was carried on by means of an official hierarchy extending from the highest to the lowest departments of State, and reaching out to the farthest limits of the country. It was virtually the creation of Henry VII., who seized upon favouring circumstances presented by the weakened condition of the baronage after the Wars of the Roses, in order to extend his power. Some of the particulars given would be incredible, but for the authoritative testimony on which they rest. The extraction of money was reduced to a system. Old sentences and antiquated claims were revived and enforced ; with the royal connivance, if not at the royal instigation. Treason, disaffection, and crime, as well as technical and unintentional mistakes, were more profitable to Henry VII. than any other branch of the royal revenue. Such procedure was contrary to two of the provisions of the Great Charter ; against selling right or justice ; and the declaration that no one should be imprisoned nor put out of his freehold, franchises, or free customs, unless by the judgment of his peers and by the law of the land.

The relations between England and Ireland continued in an anomalous and unsatisfactory state. The tribute nominally paid, but often withheld, by native chieftains, did not secure their actual submission. Incessant outbreaks occurred among them, arising from local jealousies and family and tribal feuds. Some of the descendants of the early Norman settlers had intermarried with the Celtic population ; in the teeth of repeated Statutes forbidding this, under penalties of forfeiture and of death. The evils of absentee ownership—that perennial curse of Ireland—had long prevailed ; and a spirit of faction was dominant. A report on the state of the country, drawn

up in 1515, affirms that "there be sixty regions in Ireland, inhabited with the King's Irish enemies, where reigneth more than sixty chief captains, that liveth only by the sword and obeyeth to no other temporal person save only to himself that is strong. . . . And there be more than thirty of the English noble folk that followeth this same Irish order and keepeth the same rule." This sketch of anarchy and ruin is followed by a terrible picture of the extreme misery of the people, such as might be expected under circumstances of misrule and contention. Fuller says that Ireland was "as greedy a grave for English corpses as a bottomless bag for their corn."

It had been the custom to appoint a Lord Lieutenant or Viceroy for Ireland; usually a member of the English royal family. He was only the titular head, and, in many cases, never visited the country. The duties of the administration devolved on a Lord Deputy, who had no salary, but was allowed to levy fines and to exact military service. His rule was shadowy beyond the Pale. That territory had been reduced to a strip of land, about fifty miles long by twenty miles broad, in the neighbourhood of Dublin. In the time of Henry VII., the most troublesome nobleman was the Earl of Kildare; a rough genius, in his peculiar way, and possessing a grotesque and saturnine humour. Concerning him the tale is told that when the Bishop of Meath complained to the King,—"All Ireland cannot rule the Earl of Kildare," he was met by the rejoinder,—"Then he must be the man to rule all Ireland." Another current story credits him with burning Cashel cathedral, and pleading in excuse that he did so only because the Archbishop was supposed to be inside. Whether this be true or not, the documents of the time supply a terrible picture of irresponsibility and lawlessness. It was under Sir Edward Poynings, who was appointed Lord Deputy in 1494, that the famous legislation was effected, in a Parliament held in Drogheda, providing that no such assembly should meet in future without the approval of the King of England in Council, which was to extend also to measures brought forward. By another Act, laws already passed in England were extended to Ireland. In this way its legislation was made permissive and subservient. Power to originate

enactments was withdrawn. The native Parliament was to accept—and, presumably, might reject, if courageous enough—such measures as had been prepared by the Irish Council, with the sanction of the authorities in England. Until leave was obtained, nothing might even be considered. In this state of pupilage the Irish legislature was held for nearly three hundred years.

Nor was it any relief to know that a similar procedure was being carried out in England under Henry VII. The means employed were different, but the end sought was the same. The Tudor idea was that legislation ought not to be initiated outside the narrow circle of the King's Council. The ancient custom of Petitions and Bills being framed in the House of Commons as the basis of Statutes, was discouraged; if not openly assailed. Parliament was convened to record in proper form edicts secretly framed by Court officials, who were irresponsible except to the monarch. The letter of the Constitution was rigorously observed, as is often the case when its spirit is most flagrantly violated, and when public liberties are in the greatest jeopardy. Parliament was supposed to meet, not upon the business of the nation, but on that of the Crown. All this did not occur at once; but it was the growing tendency under Tudor absolutism. Its idea of sovereignty differed essentially from the Early English kings, or even from the Norman and Angevin dynasties. It was effected by a revolution in the Wars of the Roses, and it had to be swept away by another revolution in the time of the Stuarts.

Henry VII. died April 21, 1509, in the fifty-third year of his age and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was interred in the florid chapel which he had built in Westminster Abbey. His taste in architecture was magnificent; if somewhat ornate. Another redeeming feature of his character was his encouragement of scholarship and music. He made the usual commercial arrangements to secure the repose of his soul; displaying in them his astuteness and greed. With his love for good bargains, he had entered into a formal *pre-mortem* contract with the clergy of all the cathedrals and of many conventual and other churches, to say a certain number of Masses. In his will, he left, with posthumous munificence, addi-

tional sums in order to ensure, if possible, greater solemnity and fervour in these functions. He ordered two thousand pounds to be distributed among prisoners and poor people; on condition that they gave him their prayers. He even went so far in his panic as to order restitution to be made to those whom he had injured and oppressed. It did not, however, amount to much; for no recompense was to be awarded to any who had suffered under process of law. As this was the most common mode of his exactions, the victims remained unredressed. Besides this, Empson and Dudley, the chief instruments of his legal robberies, were appointed two of the persons to inquire into and determine this matter. What they were likely to do it is easy to conjecture. These vague mortuary and purgatorial arrangements appear to have been some solace when framing his will three weeks before his decease; though he was by no means easy in his mind with respect to the future. He has been eulogized for diminishing, if not breaking, the power of the great barons. His task was not difficult; for two-thirds of the leading families had been extirpated or ruined by the Civil Wars. It is said that he never made a friend, and never forgave an enemy. Cold, wary, calculating, phlegmatic, and secretive, he seems to have trusted no one. He was reported to have amassed wealth to the amount of nearly two millions; which must be multiplied by twelve at least, in order to represent its value in purchasing power as compared with modern times. His policy was essentially his own; if prudence and wariness in following like a sleuth-hound the course of events, can be described as a policy.

The period is remarkably barren of contemporary annals. Few men in that time perceived the intellectual, moral, social, and commercial revolution about to be wrought by the impending revival of learning; by the invention of the art of printing; by the discovery of the New World; and by the unexampled development of trade. Such momentous facts lay outside the restricted area in which Court writers lived, and moved, and had their little being. Similar tendencies towards a personal autocracy were manifested at the same time, from similar causes, in France and Spain. There, as in England, the

commencement of the sixteenth century saw the power of the Crown rapidly increasing. In each case, vast accretions of wealth by the holder of the office rendered him independent of legislative assemblies, and helped to make the baronage subservient by new creations. Europe was passing from the later stage of Feudalism to Imperialism. The tendency for more than two hundred years was towards an unchecked royal supremacy. It was first reached in Spain, under Philip II.; next, after an interval, in France, under Louis XIV.; where the Wars of the League effected what had been done by the Wars of the Roses in England; at about the same time, in the hereditary estates of Austria; while, as Fiske remarks, "over all the Italian and German soil of the disorganized Empire, except among the glaciers of Switzerland and the dikes of the Netherlands, the play of political forces had set up a host of petty tyrannies which aped the morals and manners of the great autocrats at Paris, and Madrid, and Vienna."

CHAPTER XXXII.

FAMILY AND SOCIAL LIFE.

A.D. 1450–1550.

Alexander Barclay, poet, scholar, and divine, who died in 1552, wrote, in addition to some other pieces, five 'Eclogues'; notable as being, in all probability, the first productions of the kind in the language. In one of them, he gives a picture of the great houses in the time of Henry VII.; representing them as being served at table in lavish abundance, but in great confusion. The English had the reputation of being the greatest eaters and the heaviest drinkers in Europe. The appliances of the kitchen were deemed of prime importance. The hall continued to be the principal room in castles and manor-houses. Where stone was not accessible, or as a matter of taste, bricks were introduced from North Germany for building purposes; the art of making them having been

lost since the departure of the Romans. A "breke kylne" is mentioned in 1442 in connection with Eton College, which Henry VI. was then founding. Sir John Fortescue, writing after 1463, contrasts the social condition of the English and the French; and Bishop Latimer, in one of his published sermons, vividly describes yeoman life from the circumstances of his own family, when a boy. The average price of wheat from 1401 to 1521 was under six shillings a quarter; even allowing for dear seasons in the Wars of the Roses, with their disorder and waste. The wages of a carter or a shepherd were twenty shillings yearly, with four shillings for clothing, and also free board. Artisans earned sixpence a day. Superior skill brought a halfpenny more. Ordinary labourers had fourpence. Wool was five shillings and fourpence the tod of twenty-eight pounds. The steady increase of the woollen manufacture made sheep-rearing more profitable than the growth of corn, and led to the conversion of large tracts of arable land into pasture, which was enclosed, to prevent the stock from straying. As less labour was required, an extensive pulling down of cottages took place; causing local depopulation and much distress. Petitions to Parliament and various Statutes testify to the amount of suffering thus induced, and to the earnest endeavours to devise a remedy. The action taken was often at variance with principles of true social economy; as in 1487, when it was provided that no one should hold more than one farm of the value of ten marks yearly. A penalty was imposed for not keeping up houses of husbandry, and for not laying convenient land for their maintenance. The Act proved futile; though Lord Bacon, in his 'Life of Henry VII.,' extols its wisdom as admirable.

Fitzherbert, the earliest English authority on agriculture, issued two works about 1525, complaining that, in certain respects, husbandry had retrograded, that crops were less plentiful, that the use of fertilizers was declining. He is the first writer to formulate the complaint, so often heard, that the dangers to English agriculture lie in the impossibility of developing self-reliance, enterprise, and courage under a precarious tenure. Long after Feudalism had ceased, under stress of circum-

stances, or from the attrition of Time, or from formal abrogations of specific features, many of its effects remained. An existing survival is the system of copyhold tenure of land, with the preposterous, arbitrary, and often unjust fines levied by manorial courts on succession or transfer. Manchester was only freed by Statute in 1758 from an obligation to grind corn and grain at the manorial water-mills. So late as 1809, that great city had to obtain the consent of the lord of the manor before a company could be incorporated to provide a water-supply. Leeds had to pay in 1839 a sum of thirteen thousand pounds in order to extinguish feudal dues for grinding corn.

Numerous monopolies were created by Charters in the holding of markets; all produce brought in paying tolls to the lord. In many cases, these legal but unjust and immoral powers have been redeemed in recent years at great expense by local authorities. Others still survive: the most scandalous instances being Covent Garden Market, owned by the Duke of Bedford, and the great market in Sheffield; a lucrative source of income to the Duke of Norfolk. Such survivals indicate the enormous and dangerous powers of the baronage in former times, when it was needful to enact measures like the Statutes of Liveries; as the great armies of retainers were a menace to the public peace. The Protective spirit continued to assert itself. Agriculture and industry perpetually called upon the government for aid. In 1463 it was ordained that wheat, rye, and barley should not be imported when home-grown corn was below a certain price. Stringent rules were also enacted for the wool and cloth trades; and a long list of articles might not be imported, because native artificers complained of being unable to compete with foreigners. However, commercial treaties were made with foreign countries; the most important being the Intercursus Magnus of 1496 with Flanders. Minute regulations were laid down in other Statutes during the second half of the fifteenth century for the trades of horners, patten-makers, bowyers, workers in all kinds of metals, tile-makers, and other industries. Vain attempts were still made to fix the market prices of commodities; to regulate wages; to

enforce sumptuary laws; and, generally, to meddle with trade and industry; although the inutility of such enactments must have been manifest.

The earliest recorded instance of an unreasoning prejudice against machinery occurs in 1482. Complaints were made in Parliament that hats, bonnets, and caps of cloth, which had been made and fulled hitherto by manual labour, "of late by subtle imagination, to the destruction of the labours and sustenance of many, have been thicked in fulling-mills"; where they were said to be "broken and deceitfully wrought, and in no wise faithfully made." These early monopolists professed to be chiefly troubled about such defects; though they were also, as was to be suspected, alarmed for their own final undoing. This hypocritical plea has been raised in every country and in every age by self-interested advocates of Protection to Native Industry. The paternal government therefore forbade any such mechanical appliances, under penalty of forty shillings, and confiscation of the goods; and all persons were forbidden to sell them. The Act was only one out of many designed to accomplish similar ends; but pre-determined to failure and contempt. They were as wearisome and impractical as the task of Sisyphus.

After the death of Chaucer, a dreary blank of long duration occurs in literary annals. The so-called poetry of Thomas Occleve (1370-1454) is unworthy of the name. It abounds in pedantry, and is destitute of all grace and spirit. John Lydgate (1375–1460) has higher claims as an easy versifier, with some graphic power; though often diffuse to a degree that is feeble and tedious. England was intellectually dormant; but a time of awakening was at hand. Books were scarce, and their price was high; owing to the time and labour involved in transcription. None but wealthy persons or richly-endowed monasteries and other ecclesiastical foundations could possess libraries to any extent. Henry V. had a taste for reading, and he borrowed several manuscripts which could only be recovered with some trouble and formality by the owners, after his death. The origin of the Art of Printing has given rise to much learned disputation. As

with the Invention of Gunpowder, the precise date and the original author are unknown. The merit of the invention of printing by the use of moveable letters, in a rudimentary form, has been variously ascribed to John Guttenberg, of Strasburg ; to Füst, or Faust, of Mayence ; to Peter Schœffer, of Germsheim ; and, without anything worthy of being deemed evidence, to Laurence Costar, of Haarlem. Coarsely-engraved wood-blocks, containing rude illustrations and a few lines of letter-press, had been used in the Low Countries towards the close of the fourteenth century. They usually consisted of a single page ; and never exceeded a few leaves. So far as regards England, the name of William Caxton is inseparably and undeniably associated with the introduction of an art destined to effect changes greater and swifter than those attributed to the most potent magician of fabled story.

Not much is known of Caxton's early life and personal history. He was a native of the Weald of Kent, and is supposed to have been born about 1412. His taste for literature was strengthened by trading visits as a mercer to the Low Countries. There he saw specimens of the art, and brought home a set of moveable types, in Black Letter or Gothic character. His first printed works, 'The Historie of Troye,' and 'The Game and Playe of the Chesse,' were probably finished at Bruges about 1475. 'The Dictes or Sayengis of the philosophres' was the first book he is known to have printed in England, in 1477 ; when he is found, with his assistants, working in the Almonry at Westminster, near the West front of the Abbey Church. There he continued to print with ceaseless industry until his death in 1491 or 1492. During that time, notwithstanding the tedious and laborious process of work by clumsy and inefficient hand-presses, he issued upwards of fifty books ; including a second edition of 'The Chesse' ; 'Æsop's Fables,' the poems of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate ; the Chronicle of Brut, and Ralph Higden's 'Polychronicon' ; bringing the latter down to his own times. He also edited and printed Sir Thomas Malory's 'Le Morte Arthur' ; translated from the French in 1469, with adaptations from English poems on the same theme. It was described as "a most pleasant jumble and

summary of the legends about Arthur." No effort had been made on so large a scale in English prose before Malory's attempt to give it a fluent and pliant style. The morality of his work was strongly condemned by Roger Ascham, in 'The Scholemaster'; and little can be said in excuse, beyond urging the manners and the false chivalry of the time. Four centuries afterwards, the same theme inspired Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, and William Morris. Recent editions of Malory have been issued by Sir Edward Strachey and Dr. Oskar Sommer. Caxton also occupied himself in translating choice classical works into vernacular English; to the extent of more than four thousand pages. His 'Lives of the Fathers' was left in a sufficient state of forwardness to be printed in 1495 by Wynkyn de Worde, who died about 1534. Richard Pynson, another of the early printers, is supposed to have died in 1530.

Erasmus (1467–1536), in his treatise on 'The Liberal Education of Boys,' holds up to derision the schools of his time connected with monasteries and colleges. He details the scandals and cruelty that prevailed; with a view to enforce his plea that only such institutions should be permitted as the one which Dean Colet had established in 1512, in connection with St. Paul's Cathedral, for the benefit of poor but promising and deserving boys. The first master was William Lily (1468–1523); author of a renowned 'Grammar,' and the friend of Erasmus and of More. He must not be confounded with the astrologer, William Lilly (1602–1681), satirized by Samuel Butler, as Sidrophel, whose vaticinations and hieroglyphics in his 'Almanac' were perpetuated in the one known as 'Old Moore's.' Erasmus says that no masters were more cruel to their boys than those who, from ignorance and incompetence, taught them the least. Remembering his own brutal treatment by a tyrannical pedagogue, whom he never forgave, he paints, in a well-known passage, a terrible picture of the prevalent system. Sir Thomas Elyot (1495–1546), in 'The Boke of the Governor,' devoted chiefly to the subject of education, also deprecates "cruel and yrous (irascible) scholemasters, by whom the wits of children be dulled," as might be witnessed in daily experience. All contemporaneous testimony concurs as to the savagery in schools at this

period. The stern and harsh administration of Tudor government, the religious intolerance, the polemical heat and fierceness, the rigorous justice—if it can be so called—of the laws, engendered a hardness of character which displayed itself in a severity of discipline in domestic affairs that often reached a point of arbitrary rule and of malignant cruelty.

Nor did young people of marriageable age fare much better. Young ladies were severely chastised for slight offences. Such treatment seems to have been regarded as a means to compel matrimonial alliances. Parents and guardians did as they chose in selecting husband or wife; and enforced their authority in relentless fashion. Of Elizabeth Paston, daughter of Sir William Paston, one of the judges of the Common Pleas, it is written in June, 1454, that her mother had since Easter beaten her once or twice in the week, and sometimes twice in a day, and broken her head in several places, because she would not marry some one of the mother's choice. Such conduct was by no means singular. Lady Jane Grey is another notable instance; and 'The Babees Book,' edited by F. J. Furnivall for the Early English Text Society, furnishes others, with much quaint information respecting education and social customs. Roger Ascham (1515–1568), in his 'Scholemaster,' denounces the inordinate beating of boys, as arousing a hatred of learning. Children, even when grown up, might not sit in their parents' presence without leave. Family life was stern and cold, and the treatment of women and girls was severe and arbitrary. At that period, as in earlier times, and for nearly four centuries later, women's rights were absolutely unrecognised. The prevailing sentiment with regard to women was derived from the old Civil Law of Rome, under which the husband and father held uncontrolled sway over his wife and children. The teachings of Christianity were in direct antagonism to the stern Roman ideal; but, in process of time, corruptions crept in. Woman was represented as inferior and subject to man, and as a source of temptation. This had no counterpart in the old Common Law of England, but the peculiar idea arose of suspending or extinguishing the wife's legal existence during marriage. She was placed

absolutely in her husband's hands as regarded civil rights. Her fortune became his ; unless settled upon trustees for her benefit by a pre-nuptial deed. Otherwise, she could hold no property to her separate use, because she and her husband were one, and that one was the husband. She could make no contract, or sue, or be sued ; for the law did not regard her as a person, but as a chattel. The story of the Patient Griselda, as told by Boccaccio and by Chaucer, depicts the manner in which women were treated ; as the phrase put into the mouth of Iago, "to suckle fools, and chronicle small beer," expresses the view taken of woman's functions in Shakspere's time and long subsequently.

Extreme severity, often amounting to barbarity, continued to prevail in the punishment of criminals. It was a rough and cruel age. Justice was inexorable ; even to vindictiveness. Excessive punishments ceased to deter from crime ; but made men reckless and callous. To sell a horse to a Scotchman was constructive felony ; because it was assisting an enemy, to the detriment of the kingdom. Poisoners were condemned to be boiled alive Poaching was often punished with death ; in the spirit of the old Forest Laws. Gipsies were hanged out of the way. Jurists assert that the use of torture, to compel a prisoner to confess, is unknown to English law ; but prerogative often placed itself above law, and torture was practised for centuries under specific royal orders. Coke says the rack was first used in the Tower during the time of Henry VI. ; but that this was illegal. It is known to have been employed with revolting frequency under the Tudors ; and it had not become obsolete even in the reign of James I. Human life, so far as regarded private feuds, and as a lucrative source of fines, was taken more vigilantly under the protection of law. The honour of women, for the sake of its pecuniary value to the father or the husband, was guarded by abduction being made felony. There were, however, some mitigations and improvements in legal procedure. The negligence and misconduct of local administrators of justice were checked. The extortions of sheriffs and of their officials were repressed. Fraudulent deeds of gift, designed to cheat creditors, were declared void. Delays of

final redress, by Writs of Error, were lessened. Perjury and corruption in judicial officers were severely punished. The qualification of jurors was lowered to ten shillings.

An attack of what was known as the Sweating Sickness—*Sudor Anglicus*—proved extremely fatal in the Autumn of 1485. It was so called from the profuse and nauseous perspiration; doubtless a violent effort of Nature to eject morbid matter. Such was the rapidity of the attack that it often proved fatal within a few hours. Strong and healthy men, of full habit, were chiefly stricken. In London, two Lord Mayors and six aldermen died within one week. The epidemic first appeared in the vagrant army of disreputable adventurers when Henry VII. landed in Milford Haven; just as various loathsome diseases were brought into Europe by the Crusaders; and as the Spaniards inoculated the people of Mexico and Peru with ailments that proved fatal to thousands. The Sweating Sickness had already scoured various Continental countries. It raged in England for nearly twelve months; reappearing with awful fatality in 1508, 1517, 1528, and 1551. The origin of the malady is unknown; though, like the Black Death and the Plague, it was due in a great measure to the habits of the people, and their disregard of common sanitary precautions. The streets were choked with refuse from houses, stables, and trades. The shortest way was to fling out of doors or windows everything that was desired to be got rid of. Pigs and dogs roamed about, and were the chief scavengers. Channels and gutters were choked up. Butchers, dyers, blacksmiths, and others used the streets in this way. It is not surprising, therefore, that periodical attacks of disease were fatal to thousands; like the ponderous car of Juggernaut. Erasmus, writing to Wolsey's physician when the pestilence was raging in 1517, ascribed it mainly to the neglect of a sunny aspect when building houses, and to the lack of proper drainage and ventilation. He enters into details which present a repulsive picture of the times. Besides the Sweating Sickness, mention is first made early in the sixteenth century of the introduction into England of venereal diseases; commonly described

as *Morbus Gallicus*, and under a variety of euphemisms and oblique allusions. Simon Fyshe, in his 'Supplycacyon for Beggers,' published in 1529, speaks in strong terms of its prevalence among priests. This horrible disease was first developed in France—unless earlier allusions to what was vaguely called "leprosy" refer to it—and was carried into Italy and diffused over Europe by the mercenaries of Charles VIII. after his conquest of Naples in 1494. Medical and other writers make continual references to it during the next century. Smallpox and measles also began to appear; and the former proved a fatal scourge. Influenza, ague, and "strange fevers" are frequently mentioned; but there was no accurate and reliable diagnosis of disease.

Every branch of the healing art remained in a very imperfect and unscientific state. An Act of Parliament of 1511 sets forth in plain terms the incompetency of persons calling themselves physicians and surgeons; and forbids any to practice as such in London or within seven miles, unless examined and approved by the Bishop, or by the Dean of St. Paul's, and four expert doctors. In other parts of England a license was needful from the bishop of the diocese. Thomas Gale (1507–1587) furnishes amusing particulars in his 'Chirurgerie,' published in the time of Henry VIII. Thomas Linacre (1460-1524), physician to that monarch, formed a design of establishing a College under a Royal Charter; which was granted at Wolsey's request. Linacre was the first president; and was followed by John Kaye, or Key (1510–1573), whose name, after the pedantic fashion of that day, Latinized into Caius, is perpetuated in one of the Cambridge Colleges. So late as the time of Charles II., physicians rode on horseback sideways. The renowned cane, ridiculed two hundred years later by Hogarth, with the hollowed head for a vinaigrette, was a survival of the Plague period, when aromatics were inhaled as a fancied security against contagion. Surgery had been chiefly practised, in a rude and clumsy fashion, like that of Sterne's Doctor Slop, by barbers; who were incorporated in 1461, and became Barber-Surgeons by Charter in 1540. Phlebotomy, or blood-letting, was an almost universal remedy resorted to at certain seasons of the

year as a matter of course, and as a preventive against disease.

Like all monopolists, those who enjoyed such privileges objected to any infringement by interlopers. It was speedily found that the Act of 1511 was being enforced in an arbitrary manner. Those who, out of kindness, gratuitously treated simple ailments among the poor, and even those who used their knowledge and experience of herbs, roots, and distilled waters, were threatened by the regular practitioners; so that in 1543 a restraining and defining Act had to be passed. This gives an unflattering account of the doctors; some of whom appear to have had one remedy for every disorder, like Prince Ahmed's apple in the 'Arabian Nights.' Among the medical writers of the time, possessing deserved celebrity, in addition to Linacre and Gale, were Dr. William Butts, Andrew Borde, and Sir Thomas Elyot. The last-named, besides writing 'The Boke of the Governor,' was author of a popular professional work, containing many sound precepts on diet and regimen, entitled, 'The Castle of Health.' Dr. Borde, in 'The Dietarie of Health,' gives anecdotes of the private life, customs, and arts of the time. To his vast learning he added great eccentricity. Those who feebly imitated his wit and drollery, but possessed none of his genius, were afterwards designated Merry Andrews; a term that eventually signified a clown or buffoon. The Act of 1543 formally recognised the practitioner known as the apothecary, who had for a long time treated various diseases, chiefly by the use of simples; but was regarded with suspicion and jealousy, as an intruder, by the surgeons and physicians. These professional disputes continued for generations; and are immortalized in Pope's 'Essay on Criticism.' The Apothecaries' Company was founded in 1617, by Charter from James I., separating them from the grocers; with whom they had been united as a common trade. Their privileges were enlarged by the Act of 1815. The table of weights and measures, still in use, and the symbols employed, remain exactly as they were three centuries ago.

Sir Thomas More's satirical work, 'Utopia,' or, Nowhere, was originally published in Latin, in 1516, at

Louvain; though not translated into English, doubtless for prudential reasons, until after his death. The best modern edition is Henry Auber's; and the ablest summary and criticism is in Hallam's 'Literature of Europe.' More delineates a Platonic Republic, or an imaginary Commonwealth; designed to exhibit by force of contrast the actual state of England. This is left to be drawn by the reader from his own knowledge of contemporary affairs. Hence the peculiar advantage of the choice of such a vehicle for the bold satire. Upon any other hypothesis than that the evils were real, the romance must be admitted to be harmless. To pronounce it to be dangerous was to admit its truth. Of necessity the picture is drawn with a free hand, in bold outlines. The meaning is unmistakable when More points out the material differences between his ideal Utopians and the diplomatists and the administrators of his time, with the brutal methods of warfare, the condition of social affairs, the oppression of labour, and the derangement of agriculture. The ideal is impossible, and, as with allegories and parables, the points must not be pressed too far. But the broad features of the times are clearly depicted. The serious purpose running through the work cannot fail to be perceived by the student of the crooked politics, the regal tyranny, the priestly assumption, and the low industrial conditions then prevalent. In a bold and free style that was but slightly veiled by its original Latin garb, does this famous political romance deal with questions of that day; some of which yet await just and reasonable settlement. The epithet, "Utopian," has ever since been applied to all schemes of social improvement which men have deemed impracticable; although every great change and reform have had to pass through the stages of ridicule and censure.

After this Period of Retrogression comes what may be designated a Political, Social, and Religious Renaissance.

Period VI.—RENAISSANCE.

A.D. 1509–1539.

Chapter.

33.—Dark Hours before the Dawn.
34.—Erasmus and Luther.
35.—The English Bible.
36.—The Divorce Question, and Fall of Wolsey.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

DARK HOURS BEFORE THE DAWN.

A.D. 1509–1518.

The Venetian ambassadors give a flattering description of Henry VIII. (b. 1491, r. 1509–1547). They represent him as handsome; accomplished; a good linguist; and proficient in manly sports. Erasmus, during a visit to England some years before, was charmed with the boy-prince's abilities, and anticipated for him a brilliant career. He now hailed him as the English Augustus; declared that the Golden Age was returning; and promptly accepted the royal invitation to settle here for a time. His opinion remained unaltered until complications arose in Church affairs. The appearance of Bluff King Hal in later years is familiar from numerous portraits by Holbein, and by his successor, Luke Hornebolt; with the tall, thickset form, the huge bulk, the large and straddling limbs, the ruddy face, the fleshy cheeks, and the blue-grey eyes. If he had flourished in a remoter age, around which lingers the nebulous atmosphere of romance, or if he had died before the stirring events of the middle of the sixteenth century, he might have become the hero of an epic. In his early years he was exceedingly popular. Unlike his father, he showed himself everywhere, and was almost idolized by his subjects; whom he fascinated by his personal qualities, and by the splendour of the Court displays. The nation had settled down to a period of prosperity in agriculture and commerce, especially in the wool and cloth trades, after the disorder, the violence, and the wastefulness of the prolonged Wars of the Roses.

The position of the Tudor sovereigns differed essentially from that of the Plantagenets. The royal hand was felt everywhere. Personal government was real; and often oppressive. This is emphatically true of Henry VIII. The Lords of the Council were dependent on his pleasure. He had sole control over the Exchequer. Enormous sums were disbursed on his mere warrant. No Lord High Admiral commanded the Navy, and no

Board directed its affairs. There was no specific and responsible department for the Army; such as it was. If one was raised, it was on the fiat of the monarch, and was subject to his capricious authority. It was equipped out of resources which, by a legal fiction, were supposed to be personal to himself; though furnished by taxation. Former salutary usages of Parliamentary control over the expenditure fell for a time into abeyance. In the first year of his reign, Tunnage and Poundage were granted to him for life, as had been the case with some of his predecessors. Besides three shillings a tun on wine imported, and a shilling in the pound on all exports, the Crown revenues were derived from fees and licenses levied upon merchants and traders; from fines for judicial offences; from numerous imposts on industry, markets, fairs, amusements, and dress; from forfeited estates for alleged treason; from the ancient domains of the Crown; from the Statute of Uses, which gave a tribute on lands in lieu of feudal profits on wards and marriages, and from sundry other sources. After the quarrel with Rome, there were almost illimitable spoils from the suppression of religious houses; with the First-fruits and Tenths from all livings.

The country was also called upon for Subsidies, and sometimes for gifts and loans, to meet extraordinary outlay. Parliament determined the amount of the former, but never presumed to regulate expenditure, or to require an account of disbursements, as in former reigns. The feeling against Forced Loans was especially strong. The numerous victims of Empson and Dudley besieged the law courts, in the vain hope of obtaining restitution. The two agents of rapacity were tried and condemned; not for what they had really done in extorting illegal taxes; but for an act of constructive treason. They were subsequently beheaded: a poor satisfaction to the many who had been wronged and ruined under process of law. The enormous power of the Crown is shown by grants entered on the Patent Rolls, and by numerous documents issued under the Privy Seal. Among them are to be found such public and private transactions as the appointment of ambassadors—poorly paid at about five shillings a day—confir-

mations of treaties; summonses for Convocation and Parliament; creations of nobility; *congés d'élire* for the election of bishops, abbots, and priors; presentations to livings; stewardships of forests and manors; the distribution of forfeited lands; appointments at Court and of Sheriffs; Mortmain licenses; wardships and pensions; licenses to import and export merchandise, and to beg alms for the redemption of captives. All this meant money. A golden key was needful to open every avenue of life. Such evils were tolerated, with extravagant assumptions of regal power, because the civil commotions of the preceding century were remembered with horror; and it was thought that all social order was bound up in the monarch.

With the expansion of trade, and growing intercourse between nations, political affairs on the Continent of Europe became more stirring and complex. England began to tread the devious and thorny paths of diplomacy; with hesitating and uncertain footsteps that frequently plunged her into disaster. Her foreign policy has been unduly extolled as a masterpiece of Statecraft; but the nation would have gained by leaving Continental competitors to fight out their own quarrels until exhaustion ensued. England had no concern in them, and was no match for the veteran intriguers of France, Italy, Germany, and Spain; with their inherited traditions and acquired cunning in what passed for statesmanship. "He who knows not how to dissemble, knows not how to live" was a favourite maxim with Louis XI. of France; as it was subsequently with Philip II. of Spain. The power of the latter country was becoming dominant in Europe; extending eventually from the Mediterranean to the North Sea. Her rival, on the one side was France, which, under Louis XII., annexed Milan and other parts of Italy, and contended with Spain for the Southern portion of that peninsula. On the other side, the restless and ambitious Pope Julius II. (r. 1503–1513) was perpetually intriguing for more authority, and he kept Europe in a state of perturbation. The shameful compact, effected with profound secresy at the close of 1508, and known as the League of Cambray, if not his handiwork, was at his instigation. It embraced the Emperor

Maxmilian, Louis XII. of France, Ferdinand of Spain, and some of the minor States. The object was to fall by surprise, in a time of peace, and in spite of solemn obligations, upon the Republic of Venice, and despoil her of territory, so as to humble and weaken her. Venice was at the height of her renown as Bride of the Sea. Enriched by commerce, and sustained by a large fleet and by armed mercenaries, she was the envy and the dread of her neighbours. The genius of Shakspere appreciated the grandeur of a mercantile and social organization which perpetuated that of Rome, and Athens, and Tyre. In his 'Merchant of Venice,' the great commercial State, whose "argosies o'ertop the petty traffickers," rises in all its majesty, when the Feudalism that scorned it, though of far later origin, was passing away. Against this wealthy and powerful community of merchant-nobles the League of Cambray was directed; but all such strands of diplomatic packthread endure only so long as is convenient or profitable. The intending robbers, who had already arranged for a division of the plunder, quarrelled on the eve of victory. France speedily showed selfish designs. Her object was to become the dictator of Europe, and to render the Pope dependent on the will of Louis. Julius promptly made another compact against France in 1511, with Venice, Spain, and the Emperor; under the title of the Holy League—on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle—because formed for the defence of the Papacy. Julius invited the co-operation of Henry VIII.; flattering his vanity by holding out a hope that the title of Most Christian King should be bestowed upon him instead of Louis. England was gradually drawn into the tortuous policy of this wily Pontiff. A liberal Subsidy was voted for the projected war against France. Expeditions were sent out, with unimportant results; but it was soon found that Spain and the Emperor were using England to promote their own aggandizement. Under solemn promises of aid and fidelity, they drew her into costly adventures, and shamelessly abandoned her. The treasure of France had been exhausted in ruinous wars by Louis XII. The Emperor Maxmilian was derisively termed throughout Europe "the man of few pence." He would stoop to any meanness for the

sake of present gain; even to the sale of honour and territory. Separate terms were made with France; there were the customary oath-taking, the invariable partition of spoil, and the usual royal marriages and contracts. England gained nothing; but was left to bear the chief part of the financial burden. This continued to be her unenviable lot for three centuries, as the result of all her Continental alliances.

The only countervailing circumstance was that the Scots, who had taken advantage of the quarrel, and, at the instigation of Louis XII., declared war against England, encountered a crushing defeat on Flodden Field, on September 7, 1513. King James IV., brother-in-law of Henry VIII., with the flower and pride of his nobility, perished on that fatal day, which saw so many "prostrate warriors gnaw the ground." Scotland received a blow from which she never rallied. The memory of the catastrophe lingered for generations in song, ballad, and Border-tale; as expressed in the well-known lines in Sir Walter Scott's 'Marmion.' Apart from the romance that has gathered around Flodden, the enterprise was a piece of gigantic folly. No just occasion existed for going to war with England. It was undertaken, in defiance of a solemn treaty, by a swaggering monarch, at the head of a barbarous and intractable nobility, in a manner that must be pronounced imbecile; with no adequate preparations, and with no military plan. James V., infant son of this hare-brained King, married a French princess twenty-four years afterwards; his own country having been the prey of faction during his prolonged minority. He was nephew to Henry VIII., but he maintained a close alliance with France; choosing for a second wife Mary of Guise. A chronic feud was kept up with the English Border. The scattered inhabitants of this debatable land were in an intermittent state of war and plunder. Scottish raids into the Northern counties were revenged by similar expeditions into the Lowlands on the part of the English. In these border frays, both sides wasted and destroyed with wanton barbarity. In September, 1545, for instance, the Earl of Hertford, acting as Lieutenant-General in the North, wrote to Henry VIII., describing with

great glee his burning of Melrose Abbey and town; of Dryburgh Abbey; and other places:—"Not so much harm done these hundred years." Kelso was taken, and the Scots found there were slaughtered. Thence the Earl and his army marched along the Teviot, "burning and wasting the country," including the standing corn; "destroying Jedburgh Abbey and town and fourteen other villages"; proceeding to Dunse Castle, and "burning the simple and peevish town"; taking many prisoners; slaying many more; and "the plenteous country burnt and wasted throughout."

This is only one instance out of many; and, of course, the Scots retaliated whenever the opportunity arose. Over a broad band of country fifty or more miles on each side of the Border, property, liberty, and life were never secure. Another formal act of severe reprisals occurred on November 25, 1542, when James V., instigated in his attack by Cardinal Beaton, suffered a humiliating defeat at Solway Moss, and died of vexation a few days after the birth of a child, known to subsequent history as the unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scots. A futile attempt was made to contract her, when yet an infant, to Prince Edward of England; but the French faction prevailed, and she was sent to that country to be educated, and afterwards became the child-wife of the Dauphin, a feeble and sickly youth, who figured as Francis II. for a few months in 1559, and then died. Scotland was regarded by the English as a foreign country; more so, probably, than France or Germany is now regarded. Intercourse was infrequent; safe-conducts or passports were required; and not only were the political and commercial relations opposed, but there were jealousies springing from and fomented by French influence; for, by the marriage-treaty it was stipulated that, in the event of Mary dying childless, her Scottish realm, and her supposed right to the English throne, as descended from Henry VII., were to be conveyed to France.

On the death of Ferdinand V. of Spain, in 1516, Charles I. (b. 1500, d. 1558), grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, became sovereign of that country; with its vast possessions in the Old and New Worlds. A keen rivalry broke out between him and Francis I. of France; ended

only by death. Francis still claimed Milan ; and was intriguing for the empire of Germany, which Charles looked upon as his own by reversion from his paternal grandfather, Maximilian I. Both claimants sought the aid of England. Both treated her with duplicity ; as they dealt with one another. The temper of the people was aroused in antagonism to the foreign policy. Recent wars had drained the Exchequer. Taxes remained uncollected. The incidence of taxation was, as usual, unequal. Parliament voted one hundred and sixty thousand pounds in 1514 ; but not one-third of the sum was realized. It was, in effect, a levy of sixpence in the pound ; descending even to the few pence of wages of agricultural labourers. In order to recover arrears, it was proposed to repeat the process twice. The Parliament of November, 1515, would not sanction further taxes. Another was not convened for more than seven years ; when royal exigencies became too pressing, and could no longer be met by arbitrary levies. Meanwhile, in 1519, Maximilian died. Charles of Spain, then nineteen years of age, but precocious in duplicity and cunning, was elected Emperor by the petty princes of Germany, after unscrupulous bribery. Henceforth, the monarch of Spain, of the Netherlands, of Naples, and of the Two Sicilies, and of the vast but unexplored territories across the Atlantic, was to be known as the Emperor Charles V. It was merely a titular honour and a feudal leadership ; with little real power.

Francis sought a personal conference with Henry. It took place, in June, 1520, between Guisnes and Ardres, and is known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold, from the lavish expenditure during two weeks in pavilions, dresses, entertainments, and sports. Many English nobles were burdened for years with debts contracted in these pompous but empty ceremonials of "barbaric pearl and gold." Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, expressed himself freely and incautiously on the matter. He had already incurred suspicion through boasting of descent from Edward III. He was charged with high treason ; adjudged guilty on inconclusive evidence ; and beheaded. It was the first of a series of political murders that disgraced the reign. The blame has been commonly

ascribed to Wolsey, on nothing more than the statements of that unscrupulous plagiarist and garbler, Polydore Vergil, who died in 1555. His narrative displays a spirit of hostility and calumny towards the great Cardinal, who figures so largely on the historic canvas. Thomas Wolsey was born in 1471 or 1474. Later conjecture described his father as a butcher; or, more probably, a grazier, of Ipswich. He was certainly a burgess of that town. He wrote his name as Wuley; the diminutive of Wolf. William Tyndale must have known this; for he girds at the Chancellor as "this wily wolf, and raging sea." The son was sent to Oxford University, where he was known as the Boy Bachelor, from having taken his degree when only fourteen years of age. He was bursar of Magdalen in 1498; in which year its famous tower was finished; having been begun in 1492. He entered the household of Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester; by whom he was introduced to Henry VII.; became one of the royal chaplains and almoner in 1505; and Dean of Lincoln three years later.

His ability in various diplomatic negotiations won for him great renown. He proved that opportunity always waits upon vigilant aptitude. Rich rewards were heaped upon him. He was confirmed in his offices by Henry VIII., and was appointed, in accordance with an evil custom of the time, Bishop of Tournay *in absentiâ*, 1513; and to the rich and important See of Lincoln in the following year; whence he was translated within a few months to the archbishopric of York, then worth four thousand pounds per annum, or at least fifty thousand in modern value. In 1515 he was created a Cardinal, at Henry's special request, or mandate by the title of *St. Cecilia trans Tiberim*; though he always signed himself "T. Car^{his} Ebor." The title of Eminence is sometimes incorrectly given to him. It was not conferred on Cardinals until 1631, by Pope Urban VIII. Wolsey was appointed Chancellor in 1515, and in the next year he became Papal Legate; which endowed him with the chief ecclesiastical power within the realm. He held other rich pluralities and sinecures; besides which, he received, as was the evil usage of the times, pensions and gifts from foreign potentates; so that his emolu-

ments enabled him to live in princely style. Possessing in such an eminent degree what Milton calls "the precious bane of riches," he was munificent, and even lavish, in his expenditure. Giustiniani, the Venetian ambassador, has left a vivid description of his appearance and bearing. He was the official channel for the distribution of honours; which, according to the invariable rule, must have created a score of malcontents where one applicant was gratified; and it helped, with the plurality of offices enjoyed by himself, to arouse the unpopularity that eventually crushed him.

Too much stress must not be laid upon Wolsey's love of pomp. The age was one of stately ceremonial. He took delight in royal progresses; and in civic pageants. Wolsey invested his high offices with their accustomed splendour; knowing the popular effects thereby produced. Thomas Carlyle's cynical and oft-quoted dictum is of ancient lineage; much earlier even than the form in which Bacon expresses it,—"There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise; and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken are the most potent." Apart from this, Wolsey could not do anything meanly. Grand and broad in his views, he had a just sense of proportion and colouring, and of the external fitness of things. His houses, with their furniture and appointments; his retinue; his stately receptions of foreign ambassadors; the ornate ritual and skilled choristers of his private chapel; and the discharge of his varied spiritual and administrative functions, were marked by magnificence. Hampton Court Palace, erected by him and presented to Henry as a politic gift, is an enduring memorial of his taste and wealth. He was almost the last Englishman to raise mighty fabrics that embody true architectural genius. He was a connoisseur in music, tapestry, books, and pictures; and a generous patron of every branch of art.

These things, however, were mere accessories. His legal and ministerial abilities were unrivalled. His intellectual powers triumphed over difficulties. He had an infinite capacity for taking pains. Clear-sighted; apt; prompt; industrious; fertile in resources; enter-

prising; and courageous, he filled his high station, notwithstanding continuous ill-health, in a manner that won the regard of the King. All despatches passed through Wolsey's hands. He alone held the threads of complicated negotiations. Like the fabled Atlas, he sustained a burden that would have crushed an ordinary mortal. No important affairs of State, whether domestic or foreign, were transacted without his knowledge, advice, and concurrence. He was one of the first and the most illustrious of a long line of statesmen; and in this respect his name still stands pre-eminent. Comparable to Cardinals Richelieu, Mazarin, and Ximenes, in the grandeur and daring of his conceptions, and in his extraordinary powers of organization and work, he was in some respects their superior. His elevation to great administrative posts was one of the signs of the marked social changes that were taking place, in bringing forward a new order of men.

Wolsey's was not a bed of roses. The nobility were jealous; as were not a few of the prelates. Rivals hated him. Inferior men envied his capacity, coveted his wealth, and questioned his policy; while they feared and trembled. Yet his foes and his detractors were compelled to recognise his consummate abilities; nor could they allege anything against his methods of dispensing justice. He was no respector of persons. If he showed favour it was towards the poor and the oppressed. More, writing to Erasmus in 1515, testified that Wolsey acquitted himself so well as to outdo all men's expectations. Erasmus, shortly afterwards, wrote of him in a strain of eulogium that sounds almost hyperbolical. Fox (1466–1528), Bishop of Winchester, bears strong testimony, and it was current in Fuller's day, who says,—"In matters of judicature, he behaved himself commendably. I hear no widows' sighs, nor see orphans' tears in our Chronicles caused by him." He placed on a just basis the administration of the Court of Chancery, and thus incurred the hatred of powerful suitors and of scheming advocates. Prior to his time, the royal accounts had been loosely kept. There was much waste and malversation. Long arrears of debt had accumulated. Notwithstanding the vast income there was almost hopeless confusion. He

addressed himself to the Augean task of reform and economy in the royal household. That he was occasionally dictatorial in manner and hasty in speech, is not surprising. Born to command, he was sometimes imperious. Great offices centred in him, which are wisely distributed in modern times among several men. Conscious of his transcendent powers, he naturally resented the pettiness, self-seeking, ignorance, and incapacity of the crowd of Court sycophants. His great mistakes lay in his persistent endeavours to rule without a Parliament, and in his efforts to direct Continental affairs along the tortuous and slippery paths of diplomacy. He was unscrupulous as to the means to be employed. Covert and open bribery; dissimulation; positive falsehood; the free use of spies; placing ambassadors for a time in honourable captivity, and intercepting and opening their letters, were among the methods resorted to. It is a poor excuse that in the great game of political chess his opponents made similar false and foul moves. The rules were violated on both sides without compunction. France, Spain, the Empire, and the Papacy were played off by him against each other, or were combined in faithless Leagues, at the expense of England; only to pursue their own selfish policy in the end.

During the century that followed the death of Wycliffe, his followers, the despised and persecuted Lollards, continued to expose the errors and superstitions of the priesthood. The work is only traceable by its results. Amidst the Wars of the Roses, the Chroniclers said little about the labours of these obscure men. Some have inferred from the silence that nascent Protestantism had been stifled by persecution under the Lancastrian kings; but, judging by known events of the following century, it had spread and grown; especially among the middle classes. The clergy of all orders obstinately refused to reform abuses within the Church, and they harried with relentless cruelty all who attempted or favoured any improvements. The hierarchy would yield nothing; but eventually they lost all. Timely reforms might have deferred or modified the great religious movement of the sixteenth century; that swept along like a tidal wave; and then the whole course of English and of European

history would have been changed. Reform was obstinately resisted, until revolution came. Dogmas against which human reason revolts, and practices that were puerile in their absurdity, were insisted upon with added emphasis as essential to salvation. Numerous ceremonies were added to the ritual; making it yet more elaborate, perfunctory, and troublesome. The spirit of devout worship was weighted down and well-nigh strangled with formulas. Great stress was laid upon gifts for pious uses, upon pilgrimages, indulgences, confession, and priestly absolution. As of old, the official Scribes and Pharisees bound on their votaries "heavy burdens and grievous to be borne"; while, "the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith," were neglected. Ignorance, vice, and superstition abounded.

Every cathedral and monastery, and many parish churches, possessed a store of relics or images, to attract and impress the people. Reverence for the remains of noble and pious persons, and even for the dresses they were alleged to have worn, had become a morbid superstition that usurped the place of devotion, and was a constant incentive to fraud and hypocrisy. Marvellous stories of thaumaturgy were invented, to excite wonder and to stimulate offerings. The surprise expressed by Cato, that one flamen could keep his countenance when he saw another, because of the barefaced manner in which they imposed upon the multitude, is not of local or temporary application. Erasmus, in his gibing way, ridiculed in the 'Colloquies' some of the trickery. His visit to Becket's shrine with Colet has been narrated in the eleventh Chapter. He also describes a visit with Aldrich, the Master of Eton College, to the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham. He reports as almost incredible "what a world of bones, skulls, chins, teeth, hands, fingers, and whole arms were preserved as sacred relics to be adored and kissed." It was so everywhere. The number and variety had enormously increased since those mentioned in the fifth Chapter. Bishop Shaxton, of Salisbury, gave in 1535 an inventory of unsavoury articles that passed for relics in his diocese; treating them with scorn for their pretended efficacy in cases of special disease, or for

securing fair weather, good crops, or an increase of family. Rival churches and monasteries sought to attract pilgrims and votaries to their respective shrines, by extolling their supposed merits, either in the cure of bodily ailments, or in obtaining spiritual blessings for this world or the next. Pilgrims went to Durham to worship before the tomb of St. Cuthbert, and to see his ever-victorious banner; or to the shrine of Edward the Confessor at Westminster; or to St. Alban's, or St. Edmund's Bury, or St. David's, and a score of other towns identified with certain saints. Glastonbury had its holy thorn-tree. Innumerable other places held out attractions to pilgrims; but all paled before Walsingham, in Norfolk, and Becket's shrine, in Canterbury. In the former place was a church with a miraculous statue of the Virgin, and a phial containing what was alleged to be some of her milk. People came in throngs. The town contained many inns and hospitals for their accommodation. This shrine, with the one of St. Thomas, had a European reputation; and many foreigners resorted thither.

In a Provincial Synod of Canterbury, convened in 1487 by Archbishop Morton, complaints were made of many London clergy spending their time in ale-houses, concealing the tonsure, and dressing like the laity; whose pleasures and vices they imitated. Nothing was done as to the graver charges, but they were admonished to be careful in their attire. Three years later, Innocent VIII. (r. 1484-1492) issued a Bull, acquainting Morton of the degeneracy of Monks of all orders; "giving themselves up to a reprobate sense, they led lewd and dissolute lives." Morton received authority to visit them, as they were free of episcopal control. With the sanction of Parliament, he visited nine dioceses, and found much indolence, gluttony, and neglect of duties. Warham visited various Monasteries and Nunneries in Kent, in 1511. The chief complaints were such as enforced idleness would produce in any community. Local inquiries in the diocese of Norwich and elsewhere confirm these statements. Even in cases where no gross scandal prevailed, the life was monotonous and practically useless; and religious duties were mechanically per-

formed. That such a state of things had attained to notoriety proves the need for an impending Reformation. Popular belief had been rudely staggered by notorious corruptions and venality, as is evident from the breadth and freedom of colouring of contemporary historians and satirists. They would not have ventured to hold up the priesthood to scorn, if the offences had been venial or rare. It was so, not only in England, but throughout Christendom. Some clerical writers bemoaned or were indignant at the exposure of the scandals and crimes of their own order. Others were faithful enough to raise a voice of protest, and to tender advice which was sure to meet with opprobrium. The character of many of the clergy is described in unflattering terms by Erasmus in numerous letters; notably in one dated March 15, 1530. Cardinal Newman alleged, after 1840, with all the dogmatism of a convert, that Protestant tradition on the state of the Church before the Reformation is built on wholesale, unscrupulous lying. As a set-off to his *ipse dixit*, it will suffice to refer to innumerable facts left on record by Erasmus.

So flagrant were the evils, all over Europe, that the Diet of Nuremberg, in 1523, transmitted to the just, learned, and frugal Pope Adrian VI. a list of one hundred grievances of the nation of Germany; which exhibit the popular estimate of Church abuses; such as the forbidding of marriages in divers degrees not forbidden by God's law; selling the remission of sins; immunities granted to the clergy; profits from false charges; buying and selling of burials; and "a whole flood of all mischiefs." Fourteen years later, Pope Paul III. (r. 1534–1550) appointed a commission of nine cardinals and prelates to prepare a statement of abuses requiring reformation; because, through "most grievous distempers, the Church is on the very brink of ruin." Nothing came of the inquiry; or of another instituted by Julius III. (r. 1550–1555); excepting a recommendation to appoint one hundred additional bishops and fifty more cardinals, "to entertain the people with plays, shows, and all manner of diversions. For the vulgar are given to admire and to be amused with these things."

The statements above cited, although relating in part

to a period when the Reformation had actually commenced, describe a condition of things that had existed for generations. The climax was reached early in the sixteenth century. The condition of the Church had become a crying scandal. It is constantly referred to by writers of the time; whether friends or foes. Ample testimony might be quoted, but the particulars are too gross and revolting. John Bale (1495–1563), Bishop of Ossory, wrote a satire, in 1538, in the form of an Interlude, with the title, 'Concernyng Thre Lawes of Nature, Moses, and Christ, Corrupted by the Sodomytes, Pharisees, and Papysts, most wycked.' The episcopate and cardinalate were disgraced by members whose notorious sins passed unrebuked. Even the Pontifical seat had been defiled in the fifteenth century by such occupants as John XXIII. (r. 1410–1417), or Alexander VI. (1492–1503); men of degraded character and habits, whose memory is execrated. The son of the latter, Cæsar Borgia, notwithstanding that he was created an archbishop, was dissolute, cruel, and unscrupulous; employing secret poison, and murdering rivals with his own hands. The detestable pair are commonly supposed to have come to a horrible end through inadvertently partaking of poisoned sweetmeats designed for an obnoxious cardinal. When such things were done in high places, and when Rome was suffering from a moral aneurism, it is not surprising that scandalous immorality was connived at elsewhere. The Church was brazen-faced enough to be amused at satires levelled at its own corruptions. It smiled at the flippant ribaldry of irreligion; and at the same time stubbornly resisted all improvement or change. Thus the Reformation, in its origin, was not the mere introduction of novel theological opinions. It was a revolt of the laity of Europe against worldliness, indolence, profligacy, and avarice on the part of the clergy. Popes and cardinals claimed to be the representatives of Heaven. They had abused their vast powers; intrigued and lied; excommunicated all who opposed them; set nation against nation, and sovereigns against their subjects; encouraged assassination; made themselves infamous by horrid massacres; and had falsified and degraded the religion they professed to teach.

All were not corrupt. The world has never been wholly abandoned to the devil. In every age some have feared God and eschewed evil. Human systems decay and perish ; but righteousness is immortal. In humble homes, sincere men and women were to be found who cherished a simple faith and led a holy life. They diffused a cheerful light amidst prevalent Cimmerian darkness. From the writings of the early Fathers, deposited in libraries ; from fugitive and forbidden tractates by Wycliffe ; and from tattered but treasured fragments of his translation of the Scriptures, voices were heard speaking, and they awakened many a devout response. Mystics like St. Bernard of Clairvaux (1091–1153), Hugo of St. Victor (1096–1141), Bonaventura (1221–1274), Meister Eckhart (1260–1319), John Tauler of Strasburg (1294–1361), St. Catherine of Sienna (1347–1380), Thos. à Kempis (1380–1471), St. Teresa (1515–1582), and St. John of the Cross (1542–1591), can be traced in almost every age. These followed, more or less, the teachings of St. Ignatius, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and other Christian Platonists of the second and third centuries ; and were the precursors of François de Sales (1567–1622), of Jacob Boehm or Behmen (1575–1624), of Michael de Molinos (1627–1696), Madame Guyon (1648–1717), Fénelon (1651–1715), William Law (1686–1761), Emmanuel Swedenborg (1689–1772), and others, who sought in retirement and meditation what they believed to be the truth ; and, tranquilly communing with their own souls and with God, beheld with sorrow and alarm the growing abominations. They would not interfere in the wrangling disputations of the Schoolmen, or of mere logicians and theological doctrinaires, from whose sterile and useless discussions the gentle spirit of piety had fled ; but they withdrew from the vain formalities of merely external worship, and from the empty noise and misleading pomp of ceremonial observances, and sought the inward repose of soul which springs from fellowship with the Divine and the spiritual. Looking back towards a simpler faith and a holier life, they longed for a return to such beatific calm. Their success was but partial ; for their own apprehension of truth was partial. Most of them lived without a history, and perished without a memorial.

From primitive times, bodies like the Novatians and the Donatists had arisen to protest against errors and abuses within the Church, and to affirm that the essence of truth consisted in the purity and holiness of individual members, and not merely in alleged Catholicity of doctrine or in uniformity of outward ritual. In the eighth century, the Manichæan sect of Paulicians came into Thrace from Armenia. They were the Cathari, or Puritans of that day; and practised rigid asceticism. They were followed by the Waldenses and the Albigenses of Southern France, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; who bore a noble testimony and sealed it with their blood during the terrible scenes of the Inquisition. Conrad of Waldhausen, with nameless Hussites and Lollards, helped to hold aloft the torch of Gospel truth, and many rejoiced in its brightness; the harbinger and pledge of a better day. Within the pale of the Church were men like Jerome Savonarola (1452–1498), John Wessel of Gröningen (1419–1489), John Reuchlin (1455–1522), and John Marsiglio of Padua, the friend of Occam, who wrote a treatise in 1327, entitled, 'The Defender of Peace,' in which are adumbrated the principles of religious liberty. Repeated risings had taken place in France, in Germany, and in Switzerland against the feudal tyranny and the ecclesiastical bondage that went hand in hand. The memory of John Huss (1370–1415) and of Jerome of Prague (1378-1416) was cherished in Bohemia. There were Reformers before the Reformation; as Ullmann and Bonnechose have so admirably delineated. Eloquent and sincere Protestants appeared long ere the delivery of the famous document that gave rise to the name in the Diet of Spires, in 1529. It is a presumption bordering on profanity to condemn as superstitious or insincere the crowds of worshippers who thronged the mediæval churches, or to conclude that fervent piety was unknown or but rarely felt. On the other hand, it is a credulity that borders upon the imbecile to designate former times as being pre-eminently Ages of Faith; and to mourn over their departure, as if, with them, Virtue, Charity, and Truth had fled; never more to return.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ERASMUS AND LUTHER.

A.D. 1509–1524.

An ecclesiastical reformation was demanded and presaged by the state of politics, of literature, and of religion early in the sixteenth century. The condition of things described in the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth Chapters remained; but in an aggravated form. Theology was no longer a science. The etymological meaning of the word had died out. Knowledge was unfolding her ample page; rich with the spoils of Time. The boundaries of the physical universe were expanding. Nature was being constrained to reveal long-hidden secrets. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453, and the overthrow of the enfeebled Byzantine Empire, had dispersed its scholars throughout Europe. There was a marvellous Revival of Letters. The sleep of ages was disturbed, in a manner unheard of since the Fall of the Roman Empire. The Humanists, as the disciples of the New Learning were termed, helped to pave the way for the Reformation by elevating the taste of scholars, and by awakening a love for the ancient classics. Italy first welcomed the literature and wisdom of the East. Florence, in particular, the ancient abode of liberty and the Arts, became the centre of an intellectual revival. Dean Colet, William Grocyn, William Linacre, and other Oxford students went to Italy to complete their studies, and returned home imbued with the intellectualism that made the Florence of that time so famous. They did much to promote in England a study of the Greek language and literature; and their work had important bearings on the English Reformation. They wished, like Sir Thomas More and others, for a reform of Church abuses; not for a revolution in doctrine.

Erasmus of Rotterdam (1467–1536) perfected the literary work begun by John Reuchlin of Pforzheim; one of a scattered but zealous band of workers who devoted themselves to the study of the Scriptures in the original languages. Erasmus studied in the renowned University

of Paris, and acquired a European reputation as a scholar; though ignorant Monks both hated and feared him. During several prolonged visits to England he formed a close friendship with such men as Warham, More, Colet, Grocyn, and Linacre. He lectured on Greek in the University of Cambridge, and gathered around him a band of attached disciples; carrying on at the same time unwearied literary labours. In 1514, he went to Basle, to supervise the passing through the press of the famous Froben of his superb edition of the Greek Testament; with a new Latin Translation and comments. The expense was borne by his English admirers, and chiefly by Warham, whom he justly extols as a Mæcenas. The Scriptural ideal could not fail, in the existing state of Europe, to be placed in strong contrast with the actual character of the Church and clergy; who hated Erasmus, because, as they said, he laid the egg which Luther hatched. The book was welcomed with enthusiasm by inquiring minds, and was read with avidity by the learned. Several editions were quickly sold. Its adversaries cunningly assailed the appended Latin translation as a presumptuous supplanting of the Vulgate of St. Jerome; completed at Bethlehem between 385 and 405. In process of time, its text had become corrupted, and had been more than once restored. Erasmus vindicated himself from the preposterous and malignant charge of the Monks, by issuing the complete works of St. Jerome, with a dedication to Pope Leo X., who posed as a patron of learning. Of the other writings of Erasmus, his 'Encomium Moriæ,' or the Praise of Folly, and his 'Colloquies,' are the two by which this prolific and versatile author is popularly known. His trenchant satires upon the Schoolmen, and his exposure of the dense ignorance of most of the clergy, did much to convince men of the need of Church reform; while arousing against him the antipathy of those whose sins and pretensions were so mercilessly exposed and held up to ridicule. The results went far beyond his intentions. He stopped short of the logical conclusions of his own arguments. In the extent of his influence, and in the deference paid to him by the great, he is comparable only to Voltaire; who, however different in other important respects,

resembled him in being a wit and an iconoclast ; and in the keen, cynical character of his intellect. The most biting sarcasm of the age is to be sought, not among avowed Protestants, but among scoffers. Chief of these was Rabelais, a contemporary of Erasmus, who gave to the world in 1532, from his abode in Lyons, the burlesque romance of 'Gargantua' ; and in the following year his first sketch of 'Pantagruel' ; enlarged from time to time so as to form the framework of his pasquinades on the vices of the Church and of society.

Sagacious men foresaw that a crisis was at hand. It was precipitated by a simple incident. Leo X. was in straits for money to carry on his erection of St. Peter's, and other costly structural works in Rome, and to maintain the sumptuous splendour of his Court. One device in the emergency was to issue Commissions for the sale of Indulgences, in a comprehensive and unprecedented fashion. The custom was of ancient date. Cyprian and the Early Fathers complained of its abuse. Power claimed to remit Canonical censures was extended to the entire domain of moral crimes ; and from the concerns of this world to those of the next. In theory, Indulgences were supposed to benefit only those who amended their lives. In practice, they were popularly regarded as permissions to sin. The licensed hucksters of this spiritual merchandise presented their wares in the most attractive guise, and held out strong inducements to purchasers ; like Chaucer's Pardoner, with his capacious wallet, "bret full of pardons come from Rome all hot." A Dominican Friar, John Tetzel, was entrusted with the management of the traffic in the various German States ; which he traversed with much pomp, attended by a large retinue, so as to allure and stimulate purchasers. A regular scale of payment was instituted ; varying with rank and means, and with the character of the particular sins. Common sense led many to spurn and contemn the offered boon. A train of opposition was laid ; and the hand that was to ignite it was ready to appear.

Martin Luther, "the solitary monk who shook the world," was born in Eisleben, Saxony, in November, 1483. Abandoning an intention to practise law, as the

result of a study of the Latin Vulgate, he entered an Augustinian convent, and submitted to all the rigours of an ascetic life. Then he became a professor in the newly-founded University of Wittenberg ; attracting crowds to his lectures and sermons. Tetzel's extravagant boasts and promises were reported to Luther, who threatened to make a hole in his drum ; referring to the method by which these itinerant spiritual quacks collected a crowd. Luther was still a devout Romanist. He did not perceive whither the swift current of events would bear him ; but his sturdy common sense and deep religious fervour impelled him to expose the pretensions of the charlatan. He preached against Indulgences, except on real repentance and change of life ; and on the last day of October, 1517, in the presence of an excited crowd, he nailed to the door of his church a list of ninety-five Theses. Within a fortnight, they were known all over Germany, and they soon spread throughout Christendom. Erasmus, busy at Louvain and at Basle with fresh editions of his books, was astonished. He held aloof from a movement which he was unable to comprehend ; though, as men truly said, he had done more than any to bring it about. A direct appeal to him from Luther for counsel and aid received a hesitating and dubious reply. He was urged to confute Luther. When he declined, he was twitted with being his ally. He rejoined that it was not his work ; that he was otherwise occupied ; that he had not time to study the controversy ; and he retorted that the clergy had not the mental ability to defend their cause, and could do no more than call names and tell lies.

The ground of the dispute was rapidly widening. The sale of Indulgences was not the cause of the Reformation ; although it was an inducing occasion. Ere long, such vital questions as priestly orders, with their pretended supernatural powers ; the Confessional ; Papal supremacy ; and the entire system of spiritual domination, became involved. Europe was in a blaze. Luther was called to the Diet of Augsburg, in October, 1518 before the Legate, Cardinal Cajetan He defended himself with skill and courage, while avowing profound respect for the Papal office. Vain attempts were made

to frighten, to bribe, and to cajole him. Half Germany was on his side. Two years later, a Bull was promulgated, condemning his doctrines; including, as Erasmus sarcastically remarked, some found in St. Bernard and St. Augustine, and regarded as orthodox and edifying. Luther's books were also ordered to be burned, though, as Erasmus added, this would not burn them out of people's memories, and other copies could easily be produced. Luther boldly appealed from the Pope to a General Council of the Church; which had not met for strictly Œcumenical purposes since the Fourth Lateran Council under Innocent III., in 1215. Later assemblies, like that of Pisa (1409), Constance (1414–1418), Basle (1431–1443), and the Fifth Lateran (1512–1517), had met and dispersed without attempting to deal effectually with the scandals and abuses that were undermining the Church.

As his Theses had been publicly burnt by Tetzel, and his books by the Papal order, he burnt the Bull and the Decretals, in Wittenberg, on December 10, 1520. Thus the sword was drawn, and the scabbard thrown away. The supreme Council of the Empire, known as the renowned Diet of Worms, met in January, 1521; being convened by Charles V. as titular head of the Holy Roman Empire. Luther attended, under a safe-conduct; his friends who accompanied him singing as they entered the city the Marseillaise of the Reformation,—*Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott.* Standing before the illustrious assembly he made his memorable declaration, and refused to abandon the ground he had taken, that the Holy Scriptures form the ultimate basis of appeal in all matters of doctrine and of practice. An Imperial decree was issued, denouncing his alleged heresies; and placing him and all his adherents under the ban of the Empire. Luther went his way; to prosecute his life-work, under the protection of powerful friends. The movement rapidly acquired irresistible momentum and wider scope. When the early Reformers affirmed that the Scriptures alone form the rule of personal life and the basis of belief and of public teaching, they practically set intelligence and conscience above Church authority, which claimed to be the sole interpreter according to received tradition.

Luther, Melanchthon, and their associates may not have perceived at first the logical applications of the principle; but they were carried by the force of circumstances and by growing convictions to advocate changes not anticipated at the outset.

Erasmus viewed the swift current of events with amazement. He would not connect himself with either side. He was never a Reformer, in a theological and spiritual sense. He aroused a love of letters that impelled others farther and faster than he was prepared to go. He was a prototype of Jean Paul Richter (1763–1825), in his sarcastic and grotesquely-sportive humour. As a censor and a critic, he rendered signal service. In the constructive faculty he was deficient. With great attainments in scholarship, he was always calculating what effects each public step might have on his literary reputation. At the same time, he had no wish to lessen the splendour of the Church, to interfere with its cardinal doctrines, or to restrict its influence. He offended both parties by his attitude as a cold and dispassionate observer of events that were stirring society to its depths. A favourite dictum with him was that mankind are fools, who will believe anything. Müller, one of his biographers, sententiously remarks,—"Erasmus had much; but was little." In spite of him, the Reformation went on its way. The theological conflict broke out with increased virulence. At the Diet of Spires, in 1529, the famous Declaration was handed in that gave the name of Protestants to the Lutheran party. At the Diet of Augsburg, in the following year, the equally famous Confession was presented, drawn up by Melanchthon, which clearly defined the essential tenets of the Reformers; who then withdrew. Charles V. threatened to coerce them; but found himself impotent to execute his threat, owing to political complications. It is needful to observe that the essence of Protestantism consists, not in holding certain defined doctrines, or in following a specific ritual or discipline, or in recognising a particular leader, or in bearing a distinguishing name; but in submitting to the sole and supreme authority of the Bible as the Word of God. In making the precise interpretation of the early Reformers

to be the unchangeable standard of truth, as is done by modern custodians of doctrinal museums, all investigation is arrested, and the right of private judgment is denied. It differs from the Romanist tradition only in beginning with Luther and Calvin.

The Continental movement pursued its triumphal course; which need not be followed here. It was desirable to trace its fontal springs, because of the bearings upon the English movement; to be narrated immediately. After protracted negotiations, the great Council of Trent, which may be regarded as the theological watershed whence issued two opposing streams, assembled in 1545, and sat until 1563, with various adjournments and suspensions. The result was to unify Roman teaching, for the first time, and to crystallize it into rigid compactness, which has never been lost or weakened. Doctrinal questions, and those relating to discipline and to the reform of abuses, were discussed; and decrees were promulgated which practically decided the destinies of the Western Church. The cleavage henceforth became marked and final; but Rome pursued her way with renewed zeal, aided by fresh allies in the members of the Society of Jesus, whose enthusiasm she knew how to control and use. The principal writer on dogmatic theology since that Council is Cardinal Bellarmine (1542–1621), who furnished an arsenal of weapons for the defence of his Church. The spirit of inquiry that agitated Europe was of necessity felt in England. She had been a watchful observer of the course of events. She had long struggled for national life and freedom against the politico-ecclesiastical pretensions of Rome, while maintaining identity of doctrine and of ritual. The nation had succeeded in holding its ground. Rome would not admit this. Both sides were now ranged for a Battle of Armageddon. One clear note of the impending warfare has come down to modern ears. A curious little tractate, called,—'A Supplycacyon for the Beggers,' professedly written by one Simon Fyshe, said to be a lawyer of Gray's Inn, was published about the year 1529. It is noteworthy as an expression of the popular sentiment of the time. The King was urged in it to do what he actually accomplished six years later, under other cir-

cumstances and from other motives ; viz., to suppress the Monasteries, so as to deprive the Church of one great source of wealth. This outspoken pamphlet was deemed important enough to be answered by a doughty controversialist like More. His reply is entitled,—'A Supplycacyon for Soulys' ; referring to the doubt and derision cast upon Purgatory by Fyshe, as a device of the priests to extort money. It does not add to More's literary reputation. He was said to excel any man in Europe at calling his opponents bad names in good Latin.

The Bull against Luther, and the decisions of the Diet of Worms, were duly promulgated in England, with the customary paraphernalia of vestments, banners, and candles. Henry VIII. rushed into the fray. In August, 1521, 'A Defence of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther' was issued, in English, German, and Latin. Whether written by the King, as claimed, or only adopted by him, is a moot point. Erasmus was inclined to admit it, from what he knew of his abilities. Extravagant laudation was bestowed upon it ; and a copy, superbly bound, was sent to the Pope, who, under Wolsey's instigation, conferred the sounding title of Defender of the Faith ; not without considerable backstairs influence. The title was personal ; not official or hereditary. Its assumption by nominal Protestant monarchs of England is an absurd anachronism. Luther published a reply to the royal tractate, in the coarse and objurgatory style of which he was a master. His opposition to and his denunciation of the Anabaptists would now be regarded as ferocity. It was an age of literary ruffianism ; marked by worse than Archilochean bitterness. The paper warfare was intensified by a dispute for the tiara. Leo X. died in December. Wolsey hoped and intrigued for the succession, and Henry wished to secure it for him. Adrian of Utrecht was chosen by the Italian cardinals ; but had only a brief tenure of the uneasy dignity. On his death in September, 1523, a protracted struggle took place for fifty days. Money was freely used on Wolsey's side, and Henry intervened for him with the Emperor. Nor did he find consolation in the office of Legate for life, bestowed by the new Pope, Cardinal de' Medici, known

as Clement VII. (r. 1523-1534). "Their heads will catch cold that wait bare for a Pope's triple crown," is the satirical comment of Fuller.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

A.D. 1509-1539.

THE traditional notion is that England broke away from the spiritual domination of Rome because of the strained relations arising out of the divorce of Henry VIII. from Katharine of Aragon. The passions and perfidy of that monarch are supposed by many to have brought about the Reformation in England. In his 'History of the English Government,' Earl Russell, who ought to have known better, says that the movement "was begun by the King in consequence of his desire to put away his wife and marry another." This is to confound things that differ, and to elevate a subsidiary occasion to the position of a primary cause. Resistance to Papal encroachments, and protests against corruptions, had been made in England for centuries; as has been shown in former Chapters. Nor had resistance been lacking elsewhere. It arose in every part of Christendom; under special circumstances, and with local colouring. While Luther was preparing for his great contest, other combatants were engaged in various parts of the wide battle-field. Ulrich Zwingli and Œcolampadius in Switzerland; the followers of John Huss and of Jerome of Prague in Bohemia; Farel and Lefevre in France; Olaus Petri in Sweden; Bugenhagen in Denmark; Patrick Hamilton in Scotland; and the Wycliffites in England were carrying on a similar enterprise. Everywhere, the movement was partly an intellectual revolt against dogmas and corruptions; and partly an assertion of the nation's independence. The latter preponderated in England; but the former exerted its due influence. Wycliffe's doctrines had been germinating. He stands

in the line of the Reformers and the Puritans. Poor and despised Lollards secretly prepared the way. On almost any night during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, men and women, chiefly of the humbler classes, might have been seen in London and other large towns, passing, singly or in little groups, silently and swiftly along by-streets and alleys to appointed places of secret meeting. They carried with them highly-prized, well-read, but forbidden books; which it was penal to possess; such as Wycliffe's tracts, or portions of his translation of the Scriptures; but many of them were prepared to surrender, not only liberty, but life itself, rather than abjure their opinions. A few city merchants, and an occasional courtier, favoured the movement; covertly and timidly. The pioneers had to force their way through many obstacles and much resistance; and to tread a scorched and blackened path of suffering, amidst contempt and hatred; leaving to their successors, in happier times, the liberty denied to themselves. They made their choice, and awaited the issue.

The names of most of these lowly confessors have perished from the earth. "History, so warm on meaner themes, is cold on this." It is manifest, however, that their numbers were not few; from penal enactments on the Statute Book, and from existing records of the ecclesiastical courts. The episcopal registers of London, Norwich, and Lincoln, in particular, from the accident of their being the best preserved, contain numerous entries of informations laid and of procedure taken. Beneath short and dry legal phrases may be traced pathetic chapters of human suffering, nobly borne. The method of examination was to compel the accused to swear to answer all questions: a model closely followed in the *ex officio* oath of the High Commission Court instituted in the reign of Elizabeth. To refuse, was held to be contumacy, and involved certain condemnation. To comply, was to be self-convicted, and to be made to incriminate others. The object was to elicit a disbelief in Transubstantiation; or in priestly absolution; or in Purgatory; or in the worship of images; or in the efficacy of pilgrimages. Test-questions were propounded as traps for the unwary. As they stumbled and fell,

they dragged down those dearest to them. Some were made to do public penance in the church ; in addition to the payment of heavy fines. Others were branded in the cheek ; so that the mark of alleged heresy was indelible during life. Some lingered long in horrible prisons ; and ultimately perished. Others were sent as bondsmen to religious houses, to perform menial drudgery. Relapsed heretics, who had formerly abjured, were burned at the stake ; as were those adjudged obstinate and impenitent. Frequent entries occur of burning. Erasmus, who was susceptible to cold, writing from Cambridge to his friend Ammonius, uttered the clumsy and inhuman joke that the price of firewood had increased, owing to so many heretics being burned. The cynical scholar avows no compassion. He said that he did not aspire to martyrdom, and should imitate Peter in his fall.

In November, 1511, a mandate was issued to Archbishop Warham, to summon a Convocation of the province of Canterbury for the following February. The object was to obtain from the clergy a grant towards the expenses of an impending war with France ; but some of the high dignitaries hoped to turn the gathering to account against heresy. Dean Colet preached the opening sermon. In his usual outspoken fashion, he demanded a prompt reformation of ecclesiastical affairs ; giving copious illustrations and powerful arguments. He boldly exhorted the bishops to enforce existing laws against simony, plurality, non-residence, and incompetence on the part of the clergy ; and to show themselves examples and patterns. He declared the worst heresy of all to be the vicious and depraved lives of the clergy. Nothing appears to have come of his protest and appeal. Colet himself was a conspicuous pluralist. He held five other rich preferments ; though he certainly made good use of his money. Deep cutting and cauterization were needed to deal with such a gangrene as he exposed. The Subsidy was granted in Convocation. The persecuting scheme was abandoned for a time. Not one iota was conceded of the insolent claims of suzerainty set up by Rome. The King and the Legislature were resolute in maintaining the national independence. The

course of policy initiated under Edward I., and traceable through every dynasty, was adhered to by the Tudors. Greater restraints were imposed upon the clergy from time to time by additional Statutes; notably in 1488. Another, in 1515, subjected the lower grades to the civil courts when charged with murder or robbery. It was stigmatized as contrary to the law of God and to the liberties of Holy Church. Wolsey besought Henry to suspend the Act; but he refused; declaring that the clergy should not place themselves above the law. Their perpetual evasions led to more stringent enactments ere twenty years had passed. Significant warnings were given; but they took no heed. One incident in 1514 illustrates this. Mortuaries were priestly perquisites of the clothes last worn by deceased persons; or a money equivalent. Richard Hun, a London tradesman, refused to comply on the death of a child. He was arrested on a charge of heresy, and strangled in his cell to frustrate his appeal to the King's Bench. A coroner's jury returned a verdict of wilful murder against the chancellor of the Bishop of London and two accomplices; but the scandal was hushed up; not without difficulty. An Act was passed in 1515, vindicating Hun's character, and restoring his property to his family; and the whole question of Mortuaries was dealt with fourteen years later.

A sermon at Paul's Cross, by the Abbot of Winchcombe, in 1515, denounced the Act depriving accused clergy of their privilege. The temporal lords demanded that the bishops should compel the offending preacher to make an apology; but they refused. Dr. Henry Standish spoke in favour of the Act, and was cited before Convocation to justify himself. He appealed to the King. A Commission of judges and others was appointed to try the case. They reported that Convocation, by its proceedings against Standish, had invaded the royal prerogative and incurred the guilt of Præmunire. Wolsey intervened; and assured the King that the clergy had no intention of doing anything prejudicial to his rights; but had acted in perfect good faith to their order. Henry took care to define his own position, and to assert that he would uphold those rights as his

progenitors had done. The matter was allowed to drop. Three years later, Standish was created Bishop of St. Asaph, as a reward for his advocacy. Thus it will be seen that Papal authority in England had become a matter of outward form and propriety, which none would wilfully disregard without grave cause shown; but the old dispute, embodied in Anselm and in Becket, was always ready to break forth. The supremacy was as vital a principle in the minds of lawyers and statesmen, and the peril of Præmunire was as real and terrible as when, a few years later, at the fall of Wolsey, and in the case of the whole of the clergy, the King exerted the authority he was now content with merely declaring; so as to let them see that the lion's claws were ready to be unsheathed.

Wycliffe's Version of the Scriptures had served an important purpose in its time, and as far as it went; but copies existed only in manuscript, and mostly in fragmentary forms. Something better was needed. With the revival of learning and the settlement of the English language it was desirable that a new translation should be made; not from the Vulgate, but from the original Hebrew and Greek; so as to throw open the rich treasures of religion and morality which had been locked up as in a shrine. William Tyndale (? 1484–1536), when a young student, first at Oxford and then at Cambridge, was unconsciously preparing for a momentous enterprise. He had welcomed the Greek Testament of Erasmus, whose lectures he attended at Cambridge. Like his great forerunner, Wycliffe, little is known of his birthplace and early life. His personality, like that of Homer, of Plato, and of Shakspere, is absorbed in his work. Returning to his reputed home in Gloucestershire, in 1521, he accepted a position as chaplain and tutor in the family of Sir John Walsh, at Little Sodbury. Convents and Monasteries abounded in that county; so that it was a proverbial saying,—"As sure as God is in Gloucestershire." What Tyndale saw and heard of the ignorance, the superstition, the boorishness, and the sensuality of many of the rural clergy—scarcely removed in intelligence and character from their boon companions in the

village alehouses—and their scurrilous attacks upon him because he would not join in their carousals, incited him to carry out a long-cherished purpose of translating the New Testament. Its natural meaning had been overlaid and hidden by what Tyndale called "the mist of sophistry, and worldly similitudes, and traditions, and juggling with the text." The task which this obscure student set himself to accomplish was Herculean. He had no pioneer or teacher. Literary aids and appliances in the form of grammars and lexicons were few and imperfect. Sympathy and encouragement were not to be expected from the clergy.

About the middle of 1523 he went to London; hoping to find in the house of Bishop Cuthbert Tonstall (1474–1559) some quiet retreat where his work could be carried on. That prelate was an accomplished scholar; the friend of More and of Erasmus; declared by the latter to be the first of Englishmen in Greek and Latin literature. He received the wayfarer coldly, and said that his dependents were already too numerous. One friend arose, whose name deserves grateful recognition; for he was in the habit of assisting meritorious students and preachers. Humphrey Monmouth, a wealthy London merchant, and afterwards one of its aldermen, had travelled much, and acquired broad and generous views. He heard Tyndale preach in the church of St. Dunstan, Fleet-street, and invited him to his house. There he remained for some months as chaplain; receiving a salary at the rate of ten pounds a year; equal to that of the head-master at Eton. His chief duty was to pray for the souls of his benefactor's parents; a belief in Purgatory being then universal. He passed a blameless life, and prosecuted his chosen vocation; using the second and third editions of the Greek Testament of Erasmus. The same hospitable roof subsequently sheltered the young, ardent, and talented John Fryth, who had won renown at Cambridge by his scholarship, and was invited by Wolsey to occupy a post in his new college at Oxford. Afterwards he devoted himself, with Tyndale, to the great literary task of Bible translation. It was attended with considerable peril. Men were not absolutely forbidden to render the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue; but it could not be done.

without the consent of the Church authorities; who had shown no desire or willingness to accord the necessary sanction. They persecuted with unceasing severity any who were found to possess a copy or parts of Wycliffe's version; and yet no steps were taken to provide a better one.

When the fell spirit of persecution was aroused, and it became manifest that no place could safely be found for his work in England, Tyndale left for Hamburg, in May, 1524, in a vessel belonging to his host. He laboured for another year on his translation, and then went to Wittenberg, whence he proceeded to Cologne to have it printed. There was no printing-press in Hamburg at that time, or for some years afterwards. The ancient Rhenish city contained printers who were renowned throughout Germany. Some of the earliest and finest specimens from about the year 1450, were of Bibles and Psalters, in Latin; sometimes on vellum. Much precaution and secresy, however, were needful, for adversaries were numerous, and their animosity rendered the task difficult and even dangerous. Before all the sheets could be worked off in Peter Quentel's printing-office, Tyndale had to collect those already completed, ten in number, and hurry up the Rhine to Worms, to prevent seizure and arrest. It is almost certain that he met with Luther, whose writings he had studied in London, in the original; and from whose German Testament a number of marginal notes, or glosses, with one-half of the Prologues, were translated for the English edition. But there are many others which Luther would have disclaimed, as coming from the school of Wycliffe, and afterwards adopted by Calvin.

Tyndale himself was never a Lutheran; though falsely so called by More and others for the sake of opprobrium. Nor did he, as is sometimes alleged, merely render into English the German version. He had it before him, and used it, as he did the Vulgate; but his work was based upon the original Greek; as he states, and as is proved by internal evidence. The edition partly printed in Cologne was in quarto. A description of it was sent to England by one John Cochlæus, a spy of the prelates, who had surreptitiously discovered the printing, through

bribes and drink to the workmen. In order to baffle his enemies, who were vigilant to seize the books, Tyndale began at Worms a new edition in octavo, without glosses; printed by Peter Schœffer, late in 1525, and issued anonymously. It does not appear that the quarto was ever completed; but the ten sheets probably found their way into circulation. In the early Summer of 1526, six thousand copies of the octavo edition were crossing the sea to England: spiritual Argonauts fraught with results of incalculable moment. The precious freight had to be introduced into London by stealth; concealed among ordinary goods by the Hanse merchants who brought it. The copies were speedily sold at two and three shillings each, by an association of citizens and tradesmen, known as Christian Brethren, and were circulated in London and throughout the provinces.

No sooner had the forbidden books been distributed, than the bishops consulted for their suppression; Wolsey alone being indifferent. An Order in Council was issued at their instigation, for diligent search, seizure, and burning. It was pretended that the translation was inaccurate, and that there were thousands of errors. The reason of this resentment lies on the surface. Prelatical renderings in the Vulgate, which had served the purposes of absolutism in Church and State, were restored by Tyndale to their natural significations. Thus, "priest" became "elder," or "senior"; "Church" was rendered "Congregation"; and "Charity" was more truly represented by "Love"; three test-words which involved cardinal points of the Romish system. London, Oxford, and Cambridge were rigorously ransacked for copies of the obnoxious Testaments; and the possessors had narrow escapes. On Shrove Tuesday, 1527, six men, clad in penitential dresses, and carrying lighted tapers or symbolic fagots, took part in a great procession through the London streets to St. Paul's, where, after a denunciatory sermon by Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, a great holocaust was made of as many copies as had been seized. The penitents were made to beg pardon on their knees, before a vast concourse, for high crimes and offences against the Catholic faith, in having presumed to possess copies of the Bible in their mother-tongue; and then they were

led thrice round the blazing pile, into which they cast their fagots. But the effect upon the populace was contrary to that intended; for they called it a burning of the Word of God. Hence it is not surprising that of the quarto edition, if, indeed, it was completed, only one fragment is known to exist, and there are but two copies, both slightly defective, of the octavo edition. It is impossible to view these venerable relics without emotion. The coarse and discoloured paper, the clumsy type and faded print, the rough binding and the frayed edges, have a mute eloquence that tells a touching story. Vivid accounts remain, written by some who shared in the perilous task of secreting the contraband books at the risk of liberty and even of life. Such is the story of Anthony Dalaber, a Cambridge student, as narrated by himself, and quoted by John Foxe. With simple pathos they tell of night journeys, arrests, examinations, imprisonment in cellars and in the stocks, hunger, cold, and wretchedness.

While Tyndale was patiently labouring to bring his chosen task to a successful issue, a spirit of inquiry had been spreading in England; particularly among the younger members of the two Universities. In Cambridge, Thomas Bilney, one of the earliest students and admirers of the Greek Testament of Erasmus, was the centre of a body of thoughtful and earnest men. Through him, the celebrated Latimer (1472–1555), afterwards Bishop of Worcester, became identified with the movement; aiding it by his racy, powerful speech. Bilney and Latimer exerted a vast influence in Cambridge; not without awakening fears in the minds of some, and opposition on the part of others. John Clark, a graduate of the University, and one of the "Bible readers," being invited by Wolsey to a post in the college he had newly-founded at Oxford, was the means of introducing the Reformed faith there. He was a choice soul, of great nobleness of character; and made of the stuff that produces heroes. His career was soon cut short; for he sickened and died in a noisome prison. Thus the furrows were being prepared for the reception of the seed as soon as it was brought to England. Latimer's homely,

humorous, and yet thoroughly Scriptural and practical style of preaching was highly popular, and swayed great influence. Long afterwards, when preaching at Paul's Cross, with a circle of bishops before him, he asked, with his usual outspokenness,—"Who is the most diligent bishop and prelate in all England? I will tell you. It is the devil. Among all the pack of them that have cure, the devil shall go for my money, for he applieth his business. Therefore, ye unpreaching prelates, learn of the devil to be diligent in your office. If ye will not learn of God, for shame learn of the devil."

Probably he had in his mind one West, a former Bishop of Ely, who inhibited him from preaching in his Cambridge days; but permission was given by Wolsey, as Legate, to preach in any church in the kingdom. It does not follow that he approved of the doctrine; but he was always tolerant of diversity of opinions, and capable of recognising courage and honesty. Moreover, he may have been not unwilling to curb the pretensions of a subordinate prelate. Whatever Wolsey's defects and sins, he was not cruel. While his episcopal brethren punished all who dared to differ, he sought to persuade into silence if he could not convince. In conducting trials for alleged heresy, they made the way of escape as narrow and as hard as possible; while he laboured to render submission easy. It must have been a matter of surprise and disappointment that his great collegiate foundation in Oxford became a focus of the New Learning. The active measures of repression did not originate with him, but with Longland (1473–1547), Bishop of Lincoln; in which huge Mercian diocese Oxford was then included. The episcopal registers attest that he hesitated at nothing in his determined but ineffectual attempts to repress the latent heresy. During a single visitation at this time, upwards of two hundred men and women, chiefly mechanics, farm-labourers, and their wives, were brought before him, fined, imprisoned, or subjected to severe penance for alleged heresy or for neglecting to pay clerical dues. Numerous entries also occur of abjurations; couched in humiliating and abject terms. Some who, in a moment of weakness, were persuaded or coerced into recanting, afterwards with-

drew their enforced renunciation, and went to prison and to death.

By such impotent means it was hoped to gag human inquiry, and to stay the progress of the New Learning. Ecclesiastical Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, and Powers made the common mistake of representatives of a decaying order of things. They failed to interpret the signs of the times. The flood came, and swept them away. They confiscated, or bought up for the purpose of destroying, every available copy of Tyndale's New Testament. The law of supply and demand would not yield to episcopal manifestoes. Curiosity, once evoked, had to be satisfied. The hopes, the aims, and the aspirations described in the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh Chapters were intensified; and men rested not until they found the intellectual and spiritual pabulum for which they craved. Tyndale's book both created and met a want; and copies were eagerly sought, notwithstanding the risks attending the prohibited possession. At least three pirated editions, bristling with errors and defects, were hurriedly brought out by various Dutch printers in order to meet the demand. Tyndale was incessantly watched and molested. Attempts were made to kidnap him; and he was often compelled to change his abode. The bitterness of prolonged exile was mitigated by the presence of his friend and colleague, John Fryth, who effected his escape in 1528 from the hot pursuit in Oxford. He rendered signal service, by his knowledge of Hebrew, in translating the early books of the Old Testament; although Tyndale's own attainments as a scholar are indisputable. Fryth crossed the Channel and visited England several times; but, on the last occasion, he was seized, degraded, and sent to the stake, July 4, 1533; being then under thirty years of age.

More had embarked in one of his ceaseless controversies; and issued in June, 1529, 'A Dialogue touching the pestilent Sect of Luther and Tyndale'; to which the latter wrote a trenchant reply. It served the purpose of party controversy to connect his name with Luther's, for the view of creating prejudice; but there was absolutely no warrant for this, and Tyndale repudiated it. More issued a rejoinder; but his share in the

dispute, like his whole attitude towards what he called heresy, is unworthy of his character and learning. Tyndale also published various tractates; such as 'The Wicked Mammon,' and 'The Obedience of a Christian Man, and How Christian Rulers ought to Govern.' The latter work rebuts with great vigour objections then current to an English translation of the Scriptures; and brings into prominence for the first time the two great principles which lay at the root of the Reformation in England; viz., the supreme authority of Scripture in the Church, and as a rule of faith and life; and the supreme authority of the civil law in the State.

From his asylum at Marburg, in the valley of the Lohn, Tyndale issued, early in 1530, a translation of the Pentateuch, from the original Hebrew; a second great instalment of his life-work. Only one perfect copy is known to exist; in the Grenville Library of the British Museum; but there are several others, more or less defective. Each of the five books has a Preface, and contains pertinent notes and glosses. There are also eleven coarsely-cut illustrations of the Tabernacle and its furniture; from the blocks used in 1528 in the Dutch Bible printed by Vostermann, in Antwerp. During the same year, 1530, he issued his 'Practice of Prelates'; the fiercest of his writings. An explanation, if not an apology, may be found in the virulence of the attacks made upon him, and in his special and painful circumstances; hunted, exiled, persecuted, and doomed. Excepting a few detached fragments, the chief being the Book of the Prophet Jonah, with a long polemical treatise, by way of Prologue, against prevalent errors, and in defence of the free and literal interpretation of Scripture, no more of his translations were given to the world in his lifetime. This portion, save only the Prologue, is not known to have been reprinted in its original form, until Francis Fry, of Bristol, a painstaking collector of early Bibles, issued it, in 1863, from a copy then found in the library of Lord Arthur Hervey, bound up with other rare tracts. The same devoted bibliographer published elaborate works on Coverdale and on the Great Bible.

Renewed attempts were made to seize Tyndale; and

once more he became a fugitive. With quenchless ardour and patient industry, he wrote several expository treatises on the Sermon on the Mount, on the Epistles of St. John, and on other books of Scripture. For two years he resided in Antwerp; devoting himself to a revision of his translations. That of the New Testament was issued in 1534; to correct inevitable errors that had crept into the original work, owing to the troublous circumstances of printing. He was engaged on another edition, in 1535, when he was arrested by stratagem through some caitiffs sent over by the prelates of the reactionary party; taken into the Emperor's dominions, and flung into a dungeon in the Castle of Vilvorde. From May 23, 1535, to October 6, 1536, his incarceration continued under circumstances of great severity. In one pathetic letter he describes the coldness of his cell, the ragged state of his garments, and his feeble health. Strenuous attempts to save him were made by devoted friends in Antwerp and in England. Cromwell used his great influence, and sent an agent; but all was in vain. A form of trial for heresy was gone through; ending, of course, in condemnation. On the last-named date, Tyndale was first strangled and then burned; his last reported words being,—"Lord! open the King of England's eyes."

The results of the final revision during his long imprisonment appear in an edition of which the place and the printer are unknown. Only three copies are in existence. The merit of his great work, toilsomely accomplished during nearly thirteen years of exile, is demonstrated by the fact that the accepted English New Testament, with the Pentateuch, and most of the historical books of the Old Testament, are, in substance, his final revision; aided by later scholarship. Fidelity to the original; felicity of language; terse idioms; simple but stately rhythm; directness and point, are his characteristics of style. The marvel is that errors are not more numerous; considering the disadvantages under which he laboured. He renders the proper form of the aorist; where succeeding translators have erroneously given it in the perfect tense. Following and expanding the plan adopted by Wycliffe, he set up a standard of

translation by which the English Bible became popular in style, and not merely literary and academic. Instead of being a cold, dead classic, it speaks in a plain dialect, "understanded of the people." He revealed, probably without knowing it, the wide range and the varied capacity of the English language in its modern form; with its simplicity, majesty, strength, clearness, and musical flow. Later revisions have failed in proportion as they deviated from these obvious canons. All that is recorded of Tyndale represents him as earnest, honest, simple-minded, and self-denying. His character is blameless. None of his enemies aspersed it. The best popular monograph is the one by Robert Demaus. A statue of Tyndale has been reared on the Thames Embankment; and a memorial tower, on North Nibley Knoll, overlooking the Gloucestershire vale where he is conjectured to have been born, was inaugurated in 1866; but the English Bible is his sublime and imperishable memorial.

It is an interesting fact that his last version, so far as completed, formed the substance of an edition printed in 1537 by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, and issued under royal authority; though soon revoked. It is commonly known as Thomas Matthew's Bible; the pseudonym being adopted for prudential reasons by John Rogers, also an exile, who became the first martyr in Mary's reign. He assisted Tyndale after Fryth was burned, and was intrusted by Tyndale with his papers. The portions from Ezra to Malachi, with the Apocrypha, were supplied from the translation of Myles Coverdale (1488–1569), a native of Yorkshire, who had come under the Reformed influence in Cambridge. He had been working for several years in the same field as Tyndale, but under the patronage of Cromwell and Cranmer. It is stated on the title-page that his Bible was "translated out of Douche and Latyn." In that day, Dutch meant German. His exquisite rendering of the Psalms from the Vulgate is still used in the Book of Common Prayer. The remainder of his work has long passed out of common use. He expressly disclaims in the Preface all merit of originality, and makes an oblique but unmistakable allusion to Tyndale as being entitled to the credit. His Bible, a small folio, in angular black letter,

is conjectured to have been issued from the renowned press of Jacob van Meteren, in Antwerp, or from that of Christopher Froschover, in Zurich. The inferential evidence strongly inclines to the former. It was dedicated to Henry VIII., without formal leave; and was merely not suppressed.

Another edition appeared in 1536; and two, in folio and in quarto, in 1538, printed by James Nycolson in Southwark; with two more, pirated in 1539, by Richard Taverner, of Oxford. Coverdale's influence was mainly exerted, however, through Matthew's Bible, already described; and, still more, in 1539, through the Great Bible, in which he revised, more than once, his own work and that of Tyndale. So careful and thorough was he, that one chapter alone, Isaiah liii., contains forty emendations of his earlier edition of 1535. On the accession of Edward VI. he became for a short time Bishop of Exeter; and on that of Queen Mary, he was imprisoned, and narrowly escaped martyrdom through the friendly intervention of Christian III., King of Denmark; an earnest Lutheran, whose chaplain was Coverdale's brother-in-law. Finding refuge there for a time, he proceeded to Switzerland, and assisted in the preparation of the Genevan Bible; returning to England after the death of Mary. As a Puritan, he was not restored to his bishopric; and notwithstanding his great services, his known abilities, his high character, and his extreme poverty, he was denied all preferment for some time. In 1564, he was appointed by Bishop Grindal to the rectory of St. Magnus, London Bridge; and held it for two years, until growing infirmities compelled him to resign. His death occurred in 1569; at the age of eighty-one.

The Great Bible, the credit of which is due to Cromwell, was so called from its large folio size, fifteen inches long by nine inches in width. It was adorned with the celebrated and elaborate Frontispiece, ascribed to Hans Holbein; but which Wornum discredits. The Bible erroneously known as Cranmer's, from a Preface written by him, appeared in April, 1540. It is really one of the seven issues of the Great Bible; the first of which was published twelve months before, with the King's express authority, obtained by the importunity of Cranmer and

Cromwell. That was all he did. The risk was undertaken by Grafton the printer. The task of revision was intrusted to Coverdale; and it is characteristic of the man that he willingly undertook to perfect Tyndale's work; thereby superseding much of his own, excepting in so far as he completed what Tyndale did not live to finish.

It was ordered that a copy of "the whole Bible in the largest volume in English" should be set up in some convenient place in every parish church, so that all who would might read it. The price was ten shillings in sheets, and six shillings bound. The copy printed for Cromwell on vellum, with gilt leaves, the covers embossed with brass, and the Frontispiece bearing his arms in colours, is now in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge. A companion copy sent to the King is preserved in the British Museum. John Foxe (1517–1587) narrates, from his own observation, how joyfully the Bible was received by the people. Strype says that many "parsons, vicars, and curates read confusedly the Word of God, the Injunctions set forth and commanded by them to be read; humming, and hawing, and hawking thereat, that scarce any could understand them." A reaction took place ere long, with the constant ebb and flow of the two great parties. Stephen Gardiner tried to secure a revision of the Bible by the Vulgate; but failed. After Cromwell's fall, Parliament proscribed, in 1543, under ecclesiastical influence, all translations bearing the name of Tyndale. They were to be "utterly abolished and extinguished," and were forbidden to be kept within the realm. The prohibition was futile; as was an order that the notes in other editions should be cut out or obliterated. It was further enjoined that no woman, except noble or gentlewomen, no artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servingmen, husbandmen, or labourers should read to themselves or to others, publicly or privately, any part of the Bible, under pain of imprisonment. In 1546, the prohibition was repeated, and Coverdale's edition was included. Probably at this time, and during the Marian persecution, the defacement or destruction of the earlier issues took place; so that copies are now extremely rare. In the brief reign of Edward VI. there were no fewer

than thirty-five editions of the New Testament and thirteen of the whole Bible. Of fifty-seven known printers, in England and on the Continent, thirty-one were engaged in producing copies to meet the demand.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE DIVORCE QUESTION, AND THE FALL OF WOLSEY.

A.D. 1520–1530.

As the result of a visit paid to England in 1522 by the young Emperor Charles V., another secret arrangement was made with Henry VIII., who declared war against France in July of that year. A general outbreak in Europe appeared imminent from these petty squabbles and selfish intrigues among crowned heads. Erasmus declared war to be the malady of princes; and certainly it waged with great virulence in his day. The urgent question was how England could meet her share of the burden. There had been no Parliament for more than seven years. On the eve of the war, to meet pressing exigencies, a sum of twenty thousand pounds was "borrowed" from the City of London. Commissioners were despatched into the provinces, to compel every man to declare his possessions on oath; and to levy thereon a rateable proportion, "upon sufficient promise and assurance of repayment" out of the next Subsidy. The royal agents were directed "to practise by all means to them possible that such sums as shall be so granted by way of loan be forthwith levied and paid; or at least the moiety thereof." To this end they were "to persuade and induce." It is easy to surmise what kind of persuasion and inducement would be employed to overcome the natural aversion to such an illegal levy. By fair means or by foul, large sums were extracted. The unwilling lenders received acknowledgments couched in due legal form under the Privy Seal; for official pedantry was punctiliously observed; but it does not appear that the promises to pay were ever redeemed. With the money

raised, two armies were equipped. One was sent to quell disturbances on the Scottish Border. The other landed at Calais, and was joined by troops of German, Swiss, and Spanish mercenaries.

Picardy was invaded, and the usual scenes were witnessed. The Earl of Surrey, in a letter to the King, complacently describes the horrible butchery and destruction. It was a repetition of what has been already narrated in the twenty-ninth Chapter in connection with the raids of Henry V. and the Duke of Bedford. An unknown number of miserable victims perished. At the close of the campaign, the mercenary troops were sent away with their booty; and the English went into quarters for the winter. The money obtained by the Forced Loans, and the plunder seized in France, were insufficient to continue the conflict. It was neither safe nor politic to make another experiment with Benevolences. For the first time since December, 1515, Parliament was summoned, to meet on April 15, 1523, when the clergy also assembled by their proctors in Convocation. Wolsey undertook to deal with both; in the latter as Legate, and in the former as Chancellor. He found neither body pliant. To his suggestion that the clergy should "prove themselves sensible of the happiness of having such a Sovereign," who had "written that excellent book in defence of the faith," by engaging to pay annually for five years a tenth of their incomes, there was loud and strenuous opposition. Well-known methods of manipulating deliberative bodies were employed. Individual members were bribed, cajoled, or threatened. Cause of absence was contrived for some. In the end, after a struggle of four months, the proposal was forced through; but a feeling of resentment and bitterness was induced.

The Legislature presented even greater obstacles. The Commons, in particular, were in no amiable mood. Wolsey brought a message from Henry, in the form of a pressing request for supplies adequate to a vigorous prosecution of the war against France. A grant of four shillings in the pound, on all property, was suggested, so as to yield the needed Subsidy of eight hundred thousand pounds; an enormous sum, and equal to the entire

currency of the realm. When he withdrew, there was a heated debate; extending over fifteen days. On the royal behalf necessity and urgency were pleaded, by those who belonged to his Council, or who are described as "his servants and gentlemen." Independent members opposed it; urging their poverty; and "the House was like to have been dissevered." Wolsey went a second time with a large retinue, and asked what reasons were urged against the grant. Then was enacted a scene which formed a precedent for the more famous and dramatic episode when Charles I. made a futile attempt to arrest the Five Members. The Speaker, Sir Thomas More, who, to the regret of Erasmus, had left the quiet groves of Academia for the stormy scenes of law and politics, replied that "it was the custom of the House to hear, but not to reason except among themselves"; and he asked to be excused from saying more. The Cardinal, unwilling to be foiled, made another attempt to convince the members that what was asked was necessary for the public service; a convenient euphemism in all times for Court exigencies. They listened in dignified silence; but vouchsafed no further answer. He then withdrew in anger. The Commons were resolute; and granted only four shillings in the pound on land and goods of fifty pounds and upwards; payable in four years; with a graduated scale on smaller amounts; instead of four shillings paid down, on all property, as was asked. Even this gave rise to much murmuring out of doors; and Wolsey had to employ his powers of finesse with wealthy merchants to raise money for immediate use.

Nor was the popular antipathy lessened as time went on, and the military operations in France proved fruitless. True, nothing was lost; but nothing was gained. The war entailed heavy charges, with no commensurate returns, either in glory or in pecuniary profit. Trade and commerce were deranged; and the navigation of the Channel was dangerous, owing to privateers. Agriculture and the wool and cloth trades, then the staple industries, were disturbed by the men drafted for the militia service. Prices of corn and other commodities rapidly rose. The Subsidy was collected only in part; and with much difficulty. Not until February 24, 1525, was a decisive

step secured by the Battle of Pavia; so disastrous to France. Her King, Francis I., was taken captive and removed to Madrid, where he was detained for nearly twelve months, until he consented to humiliating sacrifices of territory. He surrendered to the Emperor the Duchy of Burgundy, and renounced all claims to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and other parts of Italy; over which so much blood and treasure had been expended. He also relinquished all pretensions to Flanders and Artois. He covenanted to pay to England the large sums promised by the Emperor as an inducement to Henry to combine against France; but the money never came. He consented to assist Charles V. with an army and a navy in an attack upon the princes of Italy, who were then forming themselves into a League. Finally, he agreed to abandon his former allies. These stringent terms were carried out, so far and so long as Francis found it politic or convenient. As usual, England was left with the barren honours of sharing in a victory which brought to her nothing more than the evanescent glitter of nominal success, while she had to bear the enormous cost of the war.

Supply being exhausted, Commissions to the counties were issued under the Great Seal, in defiance of law, and without consent of Parliament, requiring the sixth part of every layman's money, jewels, and plate, and the fourth part of every cleric's, as an "amicable loan" for the royal use. This stretch of prerogative, derived from the old but dormant feudal obligation of furnishing an Aid to the monarch when he led an invasion in person, awakened a spirit of angry resistance. It was evident that the plan would not work. The citizens of London were foremost in opposition, and boldly appealed to the Statutes against Benevolences. Wolsey had to adopt a course of suasion. Even then, he secured his object only in a partial measure, and with extreme difficulty. Archbishop Warham addressed to him a lengthy epistle, setting forth the grounds of the dissatisfaction that prevailed; and showing how much the people suffered, and how their allegiance was strained by these illegal exactions. Some of the commissioners dared not attempt to carry out their instructions. Others exasperated the people by intoler-

able insolence and oppression. Riotous crowds of artisans assembled in Suffolk, where the manufacture of coarse cloth was extensive; and the spirit of resistance would have spread but for timely concessions. Notwithstanding Wolsey's attempts to allay the storm, and the manner in which, with his usual courage, he took upon himself all the blame, and sought to repair the mistake, it was remembered against him a few years later when dark and evil days came. Edward Hall (1499–1547) says, in his 'Chronicle,'—"When this matter was opened through England, how the great men took it was marvel; the poor cursed; the rich repugned; the light wits railed; but, in conclusion, all people cursed the Cardinal and his co-adherents, as subvertors of the laws and liberty of England."

Another blunder was committed. It was also a crime. The coinage was tampered with, in the absurd expectation of thereby increasing the revenue. Occasional and temporary debasement had been made, as in 1344 and in 1353, under Edward III.; but it was now reduced to a system. Since the fourth year of Edward IV., a pound weight of silver, including eighteen pennyweights of alloy, yielded four hundred and fifty pennies. By an arbitrary act of prerogative, the number was increased, in 1527, to five hundred and forty. Sixteen years later, there was a further increase to five hundred and seventy-six. Not only so, but there were repeated additions of alloy, until the proportions were eight ounces to four of silver. To maintain the nominal relation with gold coinage, the Noble was ordered to stand in value at seven shillings and six pence, instead of six shillings and eightpence; gold being then valued at twelve times its weight in silver. The effect was disastrous. Market values were suddenly inflated. Commerce and exchange were paralyzed. To the poor, and those living upon wages and fixed salaries, it meant ruin, for the prices of commodities rose in a ratio far exceeding the increase in wages. The effects continued for many years, and were aggravated by a renewal of the insensate and dishonest policy in the next reign; contributing to produce the misery and suffering that compelled the drastic policy of the Elizabethan Poor-Law.

The Emperor Charles, Francis I. of France, Pope Clement VII., and other potentates, continued to pursue their own selfish purposes. In their political schemes, no thought was given to the sufferings of their people. In the course of the strife, Milan, Florence, Rome itself, and other cities were sacked. Nameless horrors were perpetrated by a licentious and brutal soldiery, hired from the robber castles of Germany and from the scum and refuse of other parts of Europe. Fields were trampled down; houses rifled; the sanctity of churches was disregarded; convents were broken into and nuns outraged, and cardinals placed naked on asses and carried round in mock procession. These banditti did as they chose; being under no control. In sheer recklessness they washed their feet in holy water; smeared their boots with holy oil or chrism; treated crucifixes and images with contumely; burned reputed relics for the sake of their gold settings; and acted like incarnate devils. Such acts were committed by men under the nominal command of devoted sons of the Church, at the time that Reformers were being malignantly tortured as heretics, for whom no sufferings could be too great and no death too lingering and agonizing. During the sack of Rome, in particular, in June, 1527, after its capture by the Constable de Bourbon, who was slain in the assault, the horrible deeds recorded of the persecutions of the early Christians by Nero and Domitian were repeated in aggravated forms. No coarse savagery ever equalled what is told by eye-witnesses of the soldiers of the Holy Roman Empire and of its titular head, Charles V., who called himself the hereditary patron of the Church. Leo X. had embellished and enriched the city, so that it was as tempting to plunder as ancient Rome was to the Gothic hordes. The Saturnalia lasted twelve days; and would have continued longer if there had been more prisoners to torture; more women to ravish; more plunder to seize, or more buildings to destroy. Then followed plague and famine, which mowed down alike the assailants and their victims. The Sacred City was humbled to the dust. Her proud supremacy received a blow from which she never recovered. The Pope, Clement VII., became the creature and tool of the Emperor. Worse than the capture of

Constantinople, in 1453, after fifty-three days' siege by the Turks; or their capture of Rhodes from the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, in 1523; or that of Buda, in Hungary, in 1526, by the Sultan Solyman, was the damage inflicted upon the Papal sovereignty by the hands of professed friends and adherents.

Another disturbing element was introduced into the seething caldron of ecclesiastical affairs in England. Party feeling, in its most passionate form, has been aroused for more than three centuries over what is usually called the divorce of Henry VIII. from Katharine of Aragon, and his marriage with Anne Boleyn. What was really sought was a declaration of nullity of the first union, because of its alleged illegality, owing to Katharine being his deceased brother's wife, and therefore within the prohibited degree of consanguinity, which, it was urged, no Pope could abrogate. Polemics and casuistry, partisanship and fanaticism, have played a prominent part in the strife of words over this question. In opposition to the view which represents Henry as a gay Lothario or Bluebeard, and as a monster of iniquity and cruelty, must be placed the fact, at any rate in the early stages of his career, that there were prominent and sagacious Catholics who, even then, would not give credence to such statements, but contemptuously dismissed them as absurd. The Legates who investigated the case reported to the Pope that it was nothing less than madness to suppose that the King would act as he was doing merely on the ground of preferring one woman to another. It is impossible to determine when the notion of the so-called divorce arose; or whether it first occurred to the King, or was suggested by others. Court factions had much to do with it; but there were deeper reasons. In justice to him it must be remembered that he was reluctant, when a boy, and for a time he refused to marry his brother's widow; doubting the validity of the Papal dispensation. If diligent attendance upon protracted Church services, and frequent fasts and wearisome vigils, entitled her to the high position of Queen Consort, she had exceptional claims. Her personal reputation was unsullied, and her misfortunes will always excite

pity, as the spirit in which she bore them commands respect; but her disposition, tastes, and habits qualified her rather to be the abbess of a nunnery. Apart from any merit or demerit of her own, she accidentally fills a prominent place in a crisis of English history.

In default of male heirs there was the risk of a disputed succession: a serious matter, as it appeared to those who remembered the Wars of the Roses. The only surviving child was the Princess Mary, born in 1516; but her legitimacy was questioned, not merely by casuists, but by many others who shared the opinion of Warham, that the Papal dispensation permitting her mother's re-marriage was null and void. If the union was canonically legal, there was no need for the special permission; and this could not render it valid, if illegal. A collusive suit was instituted in May, 1527, before Wolsey as Legate; but it ended as abruptly as it was carried on secretly. By the formal demand addressed to Clement VII., the question was placed at the outset on public grounds alone. Before long, as is always the case, extraneous matters were imported. The abstract question of Katharine's rights as a wife admits of no debate. The actual dispute waged solely around the power exercised by Julius II. Clement VII. was asked to affirm that dispensation to be illegal. Thus the marriage would be void, *ab initio*; without any formal act of divorce. It is not in the light of modern usage, or of nineteenth-century standards of morality, that the point must be decided. Clement was not a free agent. He was virtually a captive with the Emperor, without whose consent he had promised not to grant a divorce; and there seemed no choice between offending him or Henry. He temporized, and tried to please both: ending by pleasing neither. There was a voluminous secret correspondence, which still exists. It abounds in subterfuges and duplicity, and "could make the worse appear the better reason." Embassies passed to and fro between Rome and London, after the Pope had been restored in 1528. A thorough Italian, he tried, by craft and diplomacy, to go round a difficulty, which he had neither the courage nor the skill to surmount. Professing a desire to assist the King of England, he sought to evade a decision by

indefinite postponement; trusting to the chapter of accidents for some means of extrication.

Henry and Wolsey bent all their efforts, not only to obtain the decree of nullity, but the Pope's express sanction; and this he was determined to avoid. In one of his replies he suggested that if the King was satisfied of the nullity, he might proceed to a second marriage, without asking him, by a formal declaration, to invalidate the acts of a predecessor. At length, in April, 1528, he instructed Cardinal Campeggio (1474–1539) to go to England, and hear the cause as Legate, in conjunction with Wolsey; but he was to proceed leisurely with the inquiry; and, when all excuses for delay were exhausted, the final decision was to be remitted to the Pope himself, unless the parties agreed to a compromise. The directions were closely followed. Wolsey chafed with impatience. The anger of the King blazed forth. When no further pretexts could be invented for delay, the Commission was opened, May 31, 1529, thirteen months after it had been granted. The King and Queen were cited to appear in the Monastery of the Black Friars in London. Katharine addressed herself to Henry in a tender, moving speech; appealing to his old affection and his honour. She then refused to be a party to a scandalous trial, where the issue was pre-determined. Appealing, therefore, to Rome, she left the hall with her attendants; nor would she again appear. The farce of an inquiry dragged its slow length along, by repeated adjournments, until July 23; when the King's proctor demanded sentence. To the universal astonishment and anger, Campeggio refused to pronounce a decision, "as the Holy Father had reserved this to himself." Wolsey could not understand this strange policy; for he was ignorant of the covert arrangement. Henry was furious, because he had been tricked.

Wolsey's position was critical. There was no immediate rupture; but his old sway over the King vanished, and their relations became strained. Stephen Gardiner, whom he had introduced to public life, was now the royal secretary, and was the sole medium of communication. The Cardinal's letters show how he felt the tension. To add to the difficulty, domestic and foreign

affairs were complicated. Money troubles had again arisen. It was requisite once more to face a Parliament; and none had met since 1523. Such long intervals occurred several times during this reign. It extended over thirty-eight years; twenty-one of which were passed without the Legislature being convened. The grants unwisely conferred at his accession enabled the King to dispense with Parliament, excepting under pressure of special need. In addition, the dangerous and unconstitutional powers arrogated by the Privy Council in the time of his father were considerably increased. The excessive and arbitrary functions of this body under the Tudors are the theme of severe but just criticism with every writer on English history. The Acts of the Privy Council, issued in the Rolls Series, with the works edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, John Gough Nichols, John Roche Dasent, and Robert Lemon, show how widespread, minute, and severe was the jurisdiction. The active members were chiefly officials and placemen; dependent on the will of the sovereign. Instead of being any check upon him, they were his instruments for effecting the objects of personal rule. Meetings were held constantly, and almost day by day, wherever the King chanced to be. Not only were public affairs determined upon, such as related to the French War, the Scottish Border, Ireland, the Navy and Army, commerce and the general control of the departments of State; but there appears to have been nothing in individual or domestic life that was free from interference and control on the part of this ubiquitous and omniscient body. The terrible secret conclave meddled with every person and everything; especially during the latter half of the reign, and down to the Stuart period. Its vigilance was unremitting; its powers were absolute; and its resentment was fatal. In this arbitrary manner was the administration carried on during the long Parliamentary interregnums in the time of Henry the Eighth. Nor has the evil wholly vanished after the lapse of three centuries and a half. The Privy Council still possesses varied and excessive powers, altogether out of date; and not in harmony with modern sentiments and requirements.

The six years that had elapsed since the last meeting of the Legislature, in 1523, were fraught with momentous consequences to England and to Europe. Owing to prolonged disputes and wars on the Continent, the foreign trade of the country had been seriously interfered with. It was impossible to continue to levy illegal taxes; yet the Exchequer must be supplied. The only alternative was to summon a Parliament; which precipitated the fall of Wolsey. His schemes against the Emperor Charles had not only signally failed, but recoiled upon England. He was suspected—incorrectly, as it proved—of not having done his best to promote the divorce. Appearances were against him. Men were not slow to insinuate doubts and suspicions to Henry, who was in the mood to imagine the worst, and to wreak his vengeance upon some object. His course towards Wolsey, who had served him so long, so zealously, and, sometimes, so unscrupulously, was not only ungrateful and unjust, but unmanly and harsh. Leaning entirely on the King and on the royal prerogative, when this prop failed he was helpless. The worst side of Henry's character was shown; and it underwent a rapid process of deterioration.

Wolsey was suddenly deprived of the Chancellorship, on October 17, 1529. His absolute ruin was not then proclaimed; though it was probably determined. The high office was conferred upon Sir Thomas More, who delivered the customary speech in the royal name and in the King's presence when Parliament met on the third of November. On taking his seat as Chancellor, More spoke in tender and honourable terms of his great predecessor. Other men, inferior in ability and character, gratified their spleen by open and coarse attacks upon the discarded favourite. The sparrows ventured to attack the jay. Henry had shown his displeasure, and sycophants promptly took their cue. Those who had flattered Wolsey in the day of splendour, hastened to repudiate and abuse their idol. Having tasted all the bitterness of a rapid decline in royal favour, he was shunned as if stricken with the pestilence. Cavendish, his secretary and friend, who nobly stood by him to the last, narrates in his fascinating memoirs how the King's

conduct changed, even before Campeggio returned to Rome; and says that Wolsey ascribed it chiefly to the influence of Anne Boleyn, whom he terms "the night crow" ever at the ear of the King. The Attorney-General commenced in the King's Bench an action against Wolsey, under the Statute of Provisors, for having obtained a Bull from Rome to act as Legate; whereby he had incurred the penalty of Præmunire. The procedure was unjust. Not only had he acted with Henry's sanction, but the Legatine office was conferred at his express request; and he approved of Wolsey's conduct, so long as it suited his purposes. The sudden application of the law to circumstances that had received the royal connivance was a flagrant instance of the judicial iniquity that cursed the age. Wolsey was commanded to retire to his palace of Esher, while the legal proceedings went on. In modern usage a statesman who vacates office, bides his time, and waits and hopes for another opportunity. In those days, a fallen minister seldom rose again. Impeachment usually followed.

One of the first things undertaken by the House of Commons was to present to the King a formal act of accusation against the clergy. It set forth in plain terms the wrongs suffered by the nation in this respect. The procedure of the Consistory Courts, and the wide range of functions arrogated, were boldly denounced. These have been already explained; but, with the lapse of years, the evils became aggravated and intolerable. The Commons exhibited a long list of grievances, arising out of clerical abuses, scandals, and encroachments, which "attack your Majesty's prerogative, and do your faithful subjects grievous wrong." At the same time, they complained of the "increase of seditious books, contrary to the true Catholic faith." Thus they guarded themselves from being stigmatized as Lutherans, heretics, and anarchists. The evils complained of were burdensome and galling. They irritated the people beyond endurance. The Commons did not suggest specific measures of reform; excepting the appointment of responsible and independent judges in the Probate Courts, so as to ensure the just administration of estates;

free from the clutch of the clergy. The formidable impeachment was referred to the bishops, who prepared an elaborate answer. Both documents are printed by Froude; and there is valuable information in the 'Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission' (Parliamentary Papers, Session, 1883). The reply of "the senile prelates," as Gneist terms them, was a virtual *non possumus*. They urged that if any diversity existed between the canon laws and those of the realm, "we hope in God that your Highness will temper your Grace's laws accordingly;" because the canon laws were founded on Scripture and the Fathers. As to a requirement that the royal assent should be obtained before any act of Convocation was enforced, they absolutely declined to yield. In this way they blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts, and would not heed the mutterings of the gathering storm. No admission was made of wrong, and nothing was conceded; but they had to bend and then to break before the rigorous enactments of subsequent years.

While the prelates were formulating their reply to the complaints of the Commons, the latter, acting upon a hint from the King to submit such measures as they judged to be necessary, were debating with much zeal and to some purpose. During the brief session of six weeks, Bills were drafted in swift succession, but with much care. They were then discussed, amended, passed, and sent up to the Lords. It was proposed to curtail probate and legacy duties and mortuaries; to forbid the clergy from acting as auditors, bailiffs, or stewards, and from engaging in trade; to enforce personal residence and service on those who held livings; to forbid pluralities where the benefice was above eight pounds in yearly value; and to make it penal for the bishops to grant dispensations in all such matters. The Upper House, where prelates and mitred abbots still formed the majority, were astounded at these audacious demands. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, is reported by Hall, the Chronicler, to have said in Cassandra vein,—"My Lords, you see daily what Bills come hither from the Commons' House, and all is to the destruction of the Church. For God's sake, see what a realm the kingdom of Bohemia

was; and when the Church went down, then fell the glory of that kingdom. Now with the Commons is nothing but 'Down with the Church,' and all this meseemeth is for lack of faith only." The Commons resented this attack, and complained to the King; who sent for Fisher, and obtained a withdrawal of the offensive implication. In the end, the prelates were obliged, very reluctantly, to yield; and the Bills substantially became law. They were the first decisive steps towards the rupture that speedily took place with Rome.

While the Commons were occupied with the discussion of clerical abuses, action was being taken in the Lords to precipitate Wolsey's downfall. It could not have been done without Henry's knowledge, and certainly not without his sanction. On the first of December a Bill was passed disabling the Cardinal from restoration to his former dignities and emoluments. It comprised forty-four Articles, charging high treason. Many were frivolous; others were false; but all of them showed a determination to effect his ruin. His friend and servant, Thomas Cromwell, resolutely opposed the measure when it was sent to the Lower House; where it was allowed to drop. Proceedings were then resumed in the King's Bench against Wolsey for illegally acting as Legate. He might have pleaded the royal permission, and surprise was expressed by many at his omitting to do so. He knew, however, as Cavendish explains, that this would have exasperated the King, without being an effectual bar to further prosecution. He threw himself on Henry's forbearance. By a straining of the law, all his vast estates, his palaces, his furniture, and property of all kinds were taken possession of by the royal officers. An importunate horde of avaricious claimants thirsted for the spoil. York Place, the London residence of the Archbishops of York, was seized, in defiance of his protest that it belonged to the See; and it became the royal palace subsequently known as Whitehall.

Suddenly, on February 12, 1530, as the next scene in the eventful drama, a general pardon was granted to Wolsey under the Great Seal. A small portion of his property was restored; with his archbishopric. He pro-

ceeded thither by slow stages ; partly through illness, and partly from lack of means. By the manner in which he discharged his functions during the few remaining months, he won for himself great popularity in his diocese ; but his implacable enemies at Court represented that he was corrupting the people of the North, and that he was in communication with Rome and with France to secure favour and help. Under the malign influence he was arrested for high treason on November 4, 1530.' He set forth towards London three days later ; but his old complaint of dysentery returned, and he could travel only as far as Leicester, where he died on the twenty-ninth, in his fifty-ninth year. No "storied urn or animated bust" marks his final resting-place. The famous monastery that sheltered him when dying was stripped and dismantled within a decade. Yet the ruins that overshadowed his unknown grave formed an appropriate memorial of the great Churchman with whose fall the supremacy of five hundred years was crumbled into dust. For a lengthened period, a mighty cairn of obloquy hid his renown ; and fresh stones were added by the passion or prejudice of subsequent generations. Shakspere, while giving currency to the unfavourable impressions that prevailed concerning Wolsey, perceived the nobler and brighter side of his character, and ventured, as far as was prudent, to express it through Griffith, the gentleman-usher to Queen Katharine, in the drama of 'Henry VIII.'

Cavendish pathetically describes the closing scene. He went to Hampton Court, and reported it to Henry, who professed to be moved, and said he would have given twenty thousand pounds to save Wolsey's life. Yet he took prompt measures to secure the small remaining property. The munificent educational endowments in Oxford and in Ipswich, begun in 1525 with the King's consent, had already been doomed to confiscation, though he was spared the anguish of knowing the final result, which he did his utmost to avert by urgent appeals and remonstrances. The judges held, after his death, that as he had infringed the Statute of Provisors before making these large donations, they were void, and lay absolutely at the royal pleasure. A slight verbal change in the

deeds of gift would have saved the property for its intended use; or the judges might have taken an equitable and not a technical view; or the King might have wisely exercised the prerogative in favour of the beneficent objects that Wolsey contemplated. But Henry's cupidity had been whetted by the confiscation of the Cardinal's personal wealth; and he was eager for more. He finally carried out, in what is now known as Christ Church, a very small part of the Oxford plan. The richly-endowed grammar-school in Wolsey's native town of Ipswich, designed to be closely identified with the college, was also sanctioned; but shorn of its chief features. Nor was his more ambitious and truly noble project destined to be realized, of converting the abbeys and monasteries scattered over England into centres of education. Papal sanction had been obtained for the appropriation of the revenues of St. Frideswide's Priory and other monastic property to the foundation of the college. Neither the King nor the nobles shared his enthusiasm, or sympathized with his views. His magnificent plans were forgotten or thrust aside by the demon of selfish greed; though Henry and his son have enjoyed a reputation wholly undeserved and untrue, as the patrons of education and as the founders of grammar-schools.

This closes the Period of the English Renaissance; leading on to its Nationalization.

Period VII.—NATIONALIZATION.

A.D. 1530–1558.

Chapter

37.—Royal Supremacy in Church and State.
38.—Suppression of the Monasteries.
39.—Theological Flux.
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CHAPTER XXXVII.

ROYAL SUPREMACY IN CHURCH AND STATE.

A.D. 1530–1535.

Two other men were rising into celebrity during this troublous era,—Thomas Cromwell, or Crumwell, and Thomas Cranmer. The former (1490–1540), said to be of lowly origin, won his way to a foremost position by his abilities; only to experience vicissitudes like those of Marius; a fall as sudden as Wolsey's; and a fate that was even worse. After a period of youthful adventure and travel on the Continent, partly as a common soldier in the Italian Wars, he found profitable occupation at home in mercantile ventures, and as a scrivener; half lawyer, half money-lender. He entered the great Cardinal's household in 1514; and remained in his service fifteen years; employed chiefly in supervising the elaborate preparations for the proposed college in Oxford, and for the affiliated educational foundation in Ipswich. He acted as receiver-general of the monasteries suppressed for the purpose; and the experience opened up to him new possibilities some years later. The method of his becoming a Member of Parliament in 1529 was characteristic of the age. He satisfied the King of his capacity and suppleness; and a way was opened for him as member for the borough of Taunton. His natural sagacity made him quick to discern the signs of the times, and enabled him to estimate the strained relations between the temporal and the spiritual powers in the matter of the divorce; with the further and graver struggle that lay beyond. He watched his opportunity; ingratiated himself with Henry; and, at the fitting time, suggested an assertion of regal authority, independent of the Pope or of any ecclesiastical tribunal. This suited the humour and the designs of the King; and it is the master-key to his subsequent policy.

The plan for asserting the regal power was simple but drastic. Technically legal, it was a manifest straining of the law that became a monstrous injustice. In December, 1530, notice was issued that all the clergy, by their

exactions, and by submitting to Papal and Legatine authority, had infringed the Statute of Provisors, and incurred the penalties of Præmunire. That Act had been suffered to remain in abeyance during the Civil Wars, when the Papal recognition of disputed royal claims was desirable; but had never been repealed. By that pedantry in which lawyers delight, the judges now held that the whole nation had violated the law by owning Wolsey as Legate. From this preposterous position escape was found by another legal fiction, of a general pardon; but the clergy were excluded. Convocation met in January, 1531, and sat almost daily for three months. They were appalled by the sudden turn of affairs, and by the imminent ruin that threatened them; involving the dreadful consequences of confiscation and outlawry. Any one might assault or rob them with impunity, if so minded. They were panic-stricken. Their condition was worse than during the memorable episode under Edward I. As an atonement, and in order to open up a way of escape, the Convocation of Canterbury offered the King a voluntary payment of one hundred thousand pounds; an enormous sum when the relative value of money is considered. The Convocation of York, being much smaller, offered one-sixth of that sum. But they were made to drink the dregs of the cup of humiliation. Even this costly atonement was not accepted until they had recognised the King as "the singular Protector and only and Supreme Lord of the Church and Clergy, and also their Supreme Head."

Such was the title required to be inserted in the preamble to the Subsidy from Convocation. They hesitated; for it was a virtual renunciation of the Papal supremacy. Their instinct taught them that this was the citadel of the position. Henry and his Council were firm. The alternative was Præmunire. The stipulated title had to be conceded, in order to obtain pardon and to save the remainder of their property; for Henry would not accept the Subsidy, great though it was, without the title; though they were allowed the empty satisfaction of a saving paragraph, "as far as is allowed by the law of Christ." The saving clause, contemptuously suffered in 1531, was omitted three years later. From the moment

it was once more declared to be the law of England that the monarch, as representing the people, was supreme, the power of Rome was broken. Every subsequent step in ecclesiastical affairs was simply a corollary. Ancient national claims to independence, often evaded or resisted, were revived, and placed on an immutable basis. It was part of a settled plan ; and was the carrying out, under favouring conditions, of earlier usage. The struggles of the early Norman kings with the Church, the Statute of Mortmain (Chapter XVII.), the Statutes of Provisors, of Appeals to Rome, and of Præmunire (Chapter XXV.) were among the principal assertions of the national liberty against clerical domination ; both foreign and domestic. Of the long series of acts comprising the Reformation in England, it is unquestionable that none was more heartily approved of at the time than the change which put an end at once and for ever to the system of double government which had so often brought calamity and humiliation upon the country.

Cranmer's rise was sudden. Born at Aslacton, Nottinghamshire, in July, 1480, he entered Jesus College, Cambridge, in his fourteenth year, and became a Fellow in 1510. Appointed professor of theology, he closely studied the writings of the German Reformers. His position at Cambridge led him also to investigate the Canon Law. Thrown into the company of Bishops Fox and Gardiner, in 1528, he expressed surprise that there should be any difficulty on the question of the royal divorce ; and suggested a consultation with the best divines in Europe. Henry is reported to have said, in his vigorous vernacular. "That man hath the sow by the right ear." He was therefore sent abroad as one of a commission which, through the intervention of Francis I., anxious for the goodwill of Henry, obtained favourable opinions from the Universities of France and Italy. Those of Germany, being under the Emperor's influence, were opposed. Henry's other agents were freely accused of shameless bribery in these transactions. It is certain that nothing but an exercise of the royal authority extorted a quasi-approval from Oxford and Cambridge. Returning home in 1530, Cranmer published a reply to the book

written by Henry's kinsman, Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500–1558), against the divorce; and was again sent on an embassy to the Emperor and to the Lutheran leaders. Not much came of this. Charles V. would not be placated. The German Reformers, though denying to the Pope any dispensing power, hesitated to say that the original marriage was contrary to the Divine Law. Luther declared, in his blunt fashion, that the proposed divorce would be the greater enormity; as it was cruel and unjust to call the marriage in question after so many years. Cranmer, while resident in Germany, married the niece of Andreas Osiander; thus breaking through the enforced obligation of celibacy on the clergy. Intimate connections were also established with the Reformers, that were never dissolved during his life, and that bore fruit in after days in the theology and the Liturgy of the Church of England.

The opinions of the foreign Universities were submitted to Parliament on March 30 1531, by Sir Thomas More, in order that the members might report in their respective districts. The manifest intention was to prepare the public mind for future measures. Henry hesitated about proceeding to extremities, as long as a hope existed of obtaining a decree from Rome. To defy the Holy See was to defy the public opinion of Christendom. A letter of remonstrance was addressed to Clement VII.; signed by twenty-eight spiritual lords and by forty-two nobles. He had taken no steps in the matter since he reserved to himself the decision; beyond having subordinate points discussed at long intervals in the Roman Curia. Wearisome correspondence; diplomatic intrigues; attempts to bribe various cardinals; proposals and counter-proposals, went on, until Henry took the matter into his own hands by secretly marrying Anne Boleyn, early in 1533, as is commonly supposed. The precise date is a matter of conjecture; but it is certain that Cranmer did not officiate. The marriage was not avowed for some time; for prudential reasons. Convocation and Parliament had been again convened in January, 1532. Further conflicts took place between the ecclesiastical and the temporal powers. The former received checks in

such matters as related to the proving of wills; extended control of clerics by the civil tribunals in cases of felony; excessive powers of the spiritual courts; evasions of the Mortmain Act; and the payment to the Pope of Annates, or Firstfruits of benefices. The restriction of Benefit of Clergy by one of the Statutes of 1532, was in further pursuance of the similar measure of 1515. None under the degree of sub-deacon were to be allowed thus to plead when charged with felony. The mystic sacredness that had slowly gathered round their order could not be dissipated by one stroke; but this Act did much to restrict the absurd and dangerous privilege. Various attempts were subsequently made to effect a further change; but not until 1708 was Benefit of Clergy totally abolished. (See vol. i. p. 393.)

Parliament again met in February, 1533. Having adjusted sundry domestic matters, it considered the important question of the future relations with Rome. A declaratory Act, the famous Statute of Appeals, was passed; reciting the law from the time of Edward I., and strengthening it by additional penalties. It was enacted that, in future, Appeals were to lie from the archdeacon's court to the bishop; and thence, finally, to the archbishop. The preamble is lengthy, elaborate, and explicit. The royal headship, alike of the temporalty and spiritualty, is defined with rigid care. Not the smallest loophole was left for the ingenuity of a casuist. The power thus asserted included all the regal authority over the clergy which the laws of England had never ceased to maintain, but which had never, or but partially and grudgingly, been admitted by the Roman Curia. It included, also, the transference to the monarch, as representing the nation, of the undefined authority in ecclesiastical matters assumed by the Popes as supreme governors of the Church, and as final arbiters in all questions. This far-reaching supremacy, though modified under Elizabeth, has, in divers ways, affected the whole subsequent course of English history. The penalties of Præmunire were to follow any violation or evasion of the above Act. Its general effect was to assert the indisputable right of the English people to be exempt from all foreign jurisdiction. Practical effect was speedily

given to the measure. The See of Canterbury had been vacant for seven months, since the death of Warham. On March 30, 1533, Cranmer was consecrated as his successor. At this time, and for several years subsequently, in common with nearly the whole nation, he was not otherwise opposed to Rome than as regarded the Papal supremacy in England. In dogmatic theology he had undergone no change of opinion; and in ritual observance he adhered to the ancient usage. His appointment was ratified by the receipt of the customary Bulls and the Pallium from Rome; the divorce question still being in abeyance. He took the usual oath of canonical obedience; protesting, however, that he did not thereby intend to restrain himself from performing what he deemed to be his duty to God, to his King, and to the country. So far as can be judged, no rupture with Rome was anticipated. Yet, viewed after the event, there may be discerned slight fissures; indicating the cleavage that speedily occurred.

A crisis was reached in the affairs of Sir Thomas More. He had been anxiously watching the course of events. He foresaw grave complications in the impending divorce and re-marriage of the King; in the policy that Cromwell was developing; and in the imminent breach with Christendom. So he determined to retire before a storm which he was unable to control or avert. On the plea of health, he resigned, May 10, 1532, the post of Chancellor; to Henry's surprise and vexation. The true reason was notorious. From such a man, tacit disapproval was more galling than the open resistance of obscurer men. He relinquished his office, like the Roman Fabricius, poorer than when he entered upon it. Erasmus describes the cheerfulness, and even the vivacity, which his friend displayed under a sense of escape from official trammels; a worthy companion to the exquisite cameo drawn in the celebrated letter to von Hutten, detailing More's domestic and literary life as he had witnessed it at Chelsea. Holbein has also perpetuated the scene. Another significant circumstance was that within a month of his elevation to the primacy, Cranmer submitted to Convocation three questions:—whether it was lawful to marry a deceased

brother's widow; whether the Pope could set aside the supposed Levitical and canonical prohibition; and whether, as a matter of fact, the marriage of Katharine with Arthur had been consummated? To the first two inquiries, negative replies were given. The last, after some extraordinary evidence, was answered in the affirmative, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and eighteen others opposing. Express leave was then asked of and granted by the King to proceed with the trial and sentence; and on May 10, 1533, Cranmer and four prelates went to Dunstable, where the Queen was residing, and opened a court; before which she refused to appear. Thirteen days later, he pronounced the marriage null and void, *ab initio;* and gave sentence of divorce. Arrangements were instantly made for an avowal of the secret marriage, and for the coronation of Anne Boleyn. Its splendour is fully described by Hall, the contemporary Chronicler; who had an appreciative eye for the upholstery and millinery of such pageants. A Proclamation was issued that, in future, Katharine was to be styled the Princess Dowager. The delegation appointed to apprise her of this, sent a written report of the interview; in which may still be seen the indignant stroke of the pen dashed by this much-wronged woman through a title which she scorned, and never acknowledged, until death released her in 1536.

What was to be the action of Rome? At first, the Pope made no sign; though the Emperor pressed for extreme measures on behalf of his aunt. Henry sought to disarm spiritual censures by an appeal to a General Council. After a month's deliberation, judgment on the original plea was reserved by Clement; who issued a Brief on July 12, declaring Cranmer's sentence illegal; the English process null and void; and Henry to have incurred excommunication. It was suspended for three months; and then for two months longer; partly, in hope of an arrangement; but chiefly because there were no means, in the divided state of Europe, of enforcing the judgment. Clement was scheming to trim his sails; and he experienced the fate of most trimmers. Francis I. of France tried to induce Henry to consent to a final suggestion made by Clement, that if only the Papal jurisdic-

tion were recognised by a formal act of pleading, sentence would be pronounced in his favour. Henry rejoined that this was impossible; for he was required, in addition, to annul his recent marriage; to cancel the divorce; to rescind the Statute of Appeals; and to restore the Papal supremacy. Sentence was therefore fulminated, with the usual pomp and circumstance. In December, 1533, the King, Anne Boleyn, and Cranmer were declared excommunicate. During the intervening months, the English Council had been busy. Hot-headed preachers had stirred up fanaticism and sedition. People were divided in opinion. Outbreaks occurred here and there; the most serious being that of the Nun or Maid of Kent; a half-crazy prophetess of evil, who was instigated by various monks to utter ecstatic ravings against the King and the threatened changes.

It was a critical time when Parliament assembled on January 15, 1534. The earliest legislative measures were directed to Church questions. The notable Statute for the Submission of the Clergy was passed; irrevocably fixing the bonds which they had been made to assume three years previously; and restraining them from separate action for the future. Convocation was shorn of its ancient powers. Henceforth, it could only assemble on the royal writ; an express license was needed for any business; no Canons could be published without permission; and they must not conflict with the prerogative, or with the law and custom of the land. Trials for heresy in the spiritual courts were assimilated in procedure to those for other offences in the civil courts. Accused persons were to be tried openly, before a jury of twelve; and to be furnished in writing with specific charges, and with the names and depositions of witnesses; whose testimony was to be substantiated before conviction. The Annates Act of 1532 was increased in stringency. No Firstfruits or Tenths were to be remitted to Rome, but were to be paid to the King and to his heirs; with provision for a re-valuation from time to time. The practice continued, with a brief lapse during Mary's reign, until that of Anne; who was induced, in 1703, to make over the proceeds; ostensibly, for the improvement of poor livings, but with no provision for future valuation.

Besides all this, the authority of Rome was forbidden to be exercised in the appointment of bishops. Hitherto, they had been nominated by the Crown, with the approval of the Pope. Henceforth, the *congé d'élire*, or license to elect, was to be sent by the King to the Chapter of the Cathedral, with a letter-missive containing the name of the royal nominee. If the mandate were disobeyed, or if an election did not take place within twelve days, the Chapter incurred a Præmunire, and the Crown appointment became absolute. Concerning this method, Dr. Johnson said, in reply to a remark that it had not the force of a command, but was only a strong recommendation,—"It is such a recommendation as if I should throw you out of a two-pair of stairs window, and recommend you to fall soft." It was also ordered that Peter's Pence and all other payments to Rome were to cease, unless within three months Clement adopted what was held to be a just course with regard to the marriage. At the same time it was explicitly declared that no desire existed to separate from Christendom in anything concerning the articles of the Catholic faith; but only to renounce the authority of the Bishop of Rome; who had "allured and beguiled the English nation; persuading them that he had power to dispense with human laws, uses, and customs; contrary to right and conscience."

This was a further step in the avowal of a purpose that continued to be prosecuted until the end of the reign, and has frequently arisen since to perplex and divide the English Church. Neither Henry nor Clement anticipated the possibility of an actual schism. Even when the crisis arrived, and after the King had come to an open rupture with Rome, he continued to regard the question as personal in its bearings. The sole point of difference lay in the matter of the supremacy. Henry aimed to be a domestic Pope. Contrary to his wish, and much to his surprise and anger, theological questions arose; with others relating to Church government. The Tudor plan was disturbed. As one result of this condition of things, the extraordinary spectacle was speedily witnessed of men being burned as heretics for avowing the doctrines of the Reformation; and of others being hanged or beheaded as traitors for owning the supremacy of the Pope. The

urgent matter was to uphold the nationality; independent of Rome. Parliament proceeded to determine the succession to the Crown. By a Statute of March 30, 1534, Henry's first marriage was declared invalid, and its issue illegitimate. The Princess Mary, then sixteen years of age, was thus set aside. Anne Boleyn's sons, and their heirs, and then her daughters, and their heirs, were to be the sole successors. Whoever impugned this arrangement incurred the guilt of misprision of treason; entailing imprisonment during pleasure, and forfeiture of property. This was the beginning of what has been called the English Terror. Burke indignantly denounces "the rabble of Statutes got together during this reign, by which treasons were multiplied with so prolific an energy."

The Commissioners appointed under the Statute of Succession to enforce it by an oath, set to work immediately. No form was prescribed; but they framed one that went beyond the Act, and was made to include extraneous matters. It was, therefore, manifestly illegal. All persons to whom it was tendered had to swear not only to be faithful to the infant Princess Elizabeth, and to such other children as should be born to Henry and Anne Boleyn, but also that his previous marriage was invalid, because against Scripture, and that the one with Anne was alone lawful. This was a fatal crux with some; for it involved, in their opinion, the denial of the Papal supremacy, and raised questions which were deemed sacrilegious. They were ready to subscribe to the Act of Succession; and to promise to be faithful to it. They could not honestly make the rest of the declaration. It was not a matter of casuistry; but one of conscience. Another Bill was subsequently passed to remedy this technical defect; a gross instance of *ex post facto* legislation. Two of the most illustrious objectors were Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More. The former had been imprisoned in the Tower under a charge of misprision of treason, for encouraging the Nun of Kent; and he seems to have also encouraged a scheme for introducing a foreign force into England, as the only means of saving it for the Romish Church. He incurred a second charge when he firmly declined to take

the oath in its extended form. Sir Thomas More also refused, and he, too, was sent to the Tower. Both were willing to swear to that part relating to the succession; but they could not accept the rest. The new Chancellor, Sir Thomas Audley (1488-1544), with Cranmer, and other lords of the Council, visited them several times during their incarceration of fourteen months; plied them with subtle arguments and strove to persuade them; but in vain. Nor could they be entrapped into expressing an opinion on the Supreme Headship. Their views were well known; but they could not be legally compelled to answer. More's silence was construed into a fresh charge; that he "maliciously held his tongue."

While these two distinguished men lay in the Tower, the Council was busy in enforcing the Oath of Succession on prominent laymen and ecclesiastics; most of whom complied. Judging from what occurred afterwards, it must have been taken with mental reserve. It was politic to yield; in the hope of some speedy change in the revolution of events. The clergy were in a trying position. Not only had they to take the obnoxious oath, but they were ordered to explain and commend it to the people. They were also required to vindicate the repudiation of the Papal authority in the question of the divorce, and to read from the pulpit a report of the proceedings, with the assigned reasons, as set forth by the Council. They were further commanded to abstain for twelve months from preaching on controversial or doubtful questions; restricting themselves to such doctrines as were found "in Scripture and in the words of Christ; and not to make God's laws and man's laws of equal authority." How this was to undermine the power of the Pope, and yet not touch that of the King, does not appear. The hand of Cranmer, and, still more, that of Cromwell—advanced to the post of Secretary to the King—is traceable in these stringent orders; popularly designated, "tuning the pulpits." The State Papers furnish abundant evidence, in the shape of reports made to Cromwell by an army of spies all over the country, as to the state of feeling among the clergy. The outward compliance of many was suspected of insincerity. In the North of

England, in particular, there was much latent disaffection. Father Peto, a Franciscan, preaching before the King on May 1, 1534, boldly compared him to Ahab. The prompt and stern reply was a demand upon all the Friars to own the Royal Supremacy and deny that of the Pope. Parliament re-assembled in November. In the critical state of affairs it was necessary for Henry to have the steady support of the Legislature. A further step in the national policy was taken by the passing of the Act of Supremacy. It recited that the clergy in Convocation had recognised the King as the just and rightful Head of the Church of England. To confirm this; to extend it to the whole nation; and to suppress all errors and heresies, it was declared, in explicit and comprehensive terms, that seemed to close up every avenue of escape or evasion to the most subtle casuistry, that the Sovereign was the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England. At the same time, it was again stated that no intention existed of "taking any power from the successors of the Apostles that was given to them of God"; or of "varying from the congregation of Christ's Church in anything concerning the articles of the Catholic faith." Thus the relative positions were defined of those who became known as Nationalists or as Romanists. It must be remembered that the country was in the throes of a crisis. Henry was excommunicated. His subjects were absolved from allegiance. The Emperor contemplated an invasion. France hoped to snatch an advantage out of England's troubles. Ireland was in rebellion. Scotland was watching to do a mischief to her old enemy. Not a few of the nobles, and probably a majority of the clergy, were disaffected. Outbreaks had occurred in the Western and Northern counties. The Act of Supremacy was the defiant reply to these threatened dangers. Englishmen were called upon to show their patriotism by swearing fidelity to the Crown, and by admitting both its temporal and ecclesiastical headship. Another and more equivocal statute was passed, defining high treason, and extending it to such acts as a refusal to take the Oath of Supremacy, or to answer satisfactorily questions put with regard to it.

The Catholic princes of Europe, as representing estab-

lished authority and ecclesiastical legitimacy, were banded in opposition to the Protestant powers. Henry, to the day of his death, was as much a Catholic as the former. Most assuredly he never had sympathy with the latter. Nor were the vast majority of the people prepared for this. On all public questions, the minds of most persons are in a state of flux; waiting to run into the mould that is presented with sufficient positiveness and authority. In England, it was not yet a spiritual Reformation. None of the doctrinal tenets of the Reformers had been sanctioned. It was a political Revolution, and this was a necessary preliminary. The Church was entirely freed from her allegiance to Rome. After repeated struggles, extending through centuries, with varying results, the ancient law of the land was finally rendered supreme over all persons; clerics as well as the laity. The former had to choose between perjury and treason. They were required either to renounce their belief in the Papal supremacy, or to defy the law, and endure its terrible penalties. This led, in 1535, to the first of a series of what are known as Catholic martyrs. Faithful to their convictions of what they believed to be truth and duty, they dared not, as they held it, commit perjury and lose their souls in order to save their lives. They clung to the supremacy of the Pope, and denied that of the King in spiritual concerns. So they went to prison and to death rather than betray their cause. That it failed, was well for the future of England. Some of them regarded it as an aggravation of their sufferings that they were condemned to die with persons whose religious opinions they abhorred, as being pernicious and damnable.

Many Carthusians, in particular, were among the victims. The Prior of the London Charterhouse — a name corrupted from Chartreuse — and the heads of the two houses in the Isle of Axholme, Lincolnshire, and of Beauval, or Belville, in Notts, with two others, were tried before a Special Commission, April 28, 1535, on a charge of publicly denying the royal headship. They were condemned to the horrible sentence attaching to high treason; which was carried out with the usual process of hanging, embowelling while yet alive, beheading, and

quartering. They died at Tyburn, without a murmur; giving God thanks that they were held worthy to suffer for the truth. Of the Prior's mangled body, one ghastly portion was affixed over the place where he had ruled as a spiritual potentate. It was hoped to coerce the other monks. Six weeks later, three of them underwent a like doom, without flinching. The rest were "tied and not able to stir," or were fixed against the wall by iron collars, in a loathsome cell in Newgate, where five of them perished. The survivors were dispersed among other monasteries; and at least two of them shared in the riots of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and were hanged in chains at York. The spectacle of such men dying as traitors in their official dress, vividly sent home to the nation a conviction that henceforth the law of the land knew no distinction in matters of crime between priest and layman. The sanctity that had environed the former, and had inspired such superstitious awe, received a deadly blow. It was known that intrigues were on foot to bring over Spanish and Italian mercenaries, who were to be let loose with all their savagery on the towns and villages of England. To prevent such horrors was the primary duty of any government; and what was then taking place in France and some parts of Germany in the name of religion, showed what might be expected here.

Doctrinal errors, under the convenient name of heresy, were not suffered to escape. Three weeks after the scene at Tyburn, nineteen men and six women, born in the Netherlands, but settled in London, were examined on a charge of denying certain Christian doctrines. They were opprobiously termed Anabaptists; or re-baptizers, because they held the christening of infants to be invalid. Fourteen were condemned, and burned in Smithfield; partly for political reasons, and partly as the result of religious fanaticism. These Anabaptists, successors of the earlier Cathari, Waldenses, and Albigenses, first appeared in Saxony and Switzerland, about the year 1520. Some of them were extravagant and absurd in their opinions, and loose in practice; of which the most has been made, to their detriment. Persecuted alike by Catholics under the Emperor Charles V. and Philip II.

of Spain, and by Calvinists, they at length found protection under the noble tolerance of William the Silent, Prince of Orange. The influence of the later Anabaptists, or Mennonites, as they were also called, was marked during the time of Queen Elizabeth and of the early Stuarts. A body by the same name, descended from German and Dutch emigrants, exists in the United States at the present day; with a reported membership of a quarter of a million. Simon Menno, the reputed founder, born in 1406, at Witmarsum, in Friesland, was a man of gentle, earnest, spiritual nature. Dislike on the part of the authorities in Church and State to the social bearings and political tendencies of the movement was one of the causes that led to the Peasants' War, which broke out in Germany in 1525; characterized by Zschokke as "the terrible scream of oppressed humanity." It was mainly the result of prolonged and intolerable misrule and extortion on the part of the nobility and clergy; like the rising of the Jacquerie in France, in 1359. Concessions made were revoked as soon as the rising had been put down by brute force. An enormous number of victims were massacred or executed. The lot of the survivors became harder than before. They were driven back into hopeless bondage; and their misery was intensified by the Thirty Years' War of the following century.

Fisher and More remained close prisoners in the Tower, and were not allowed to see each other. Friends were admitted rarely, and as a great favour. Repeated attempts were made to shake their constancy, and to induce them to take the Oath of Succession and to recognise the Royal Supremacy. Their property was forfeited "for an alleged offence, created by no law," as Lord Campbell remarks; just as their lengthened imprisonment was illegal, and was the result of a straining of the prerogative, too common in those times. The Pope created Fisher a Cardinal, by way of protest and defiance; which only infuriated Henry, though the Bishop declined the honour. On June 17, 1535, the travesty of a trial was gone through, with the customary Tudor observance of pedantic legal forms; but his condemnation to death for alleged high treason was a

settled matter. He was sixty-seven years of age; and because of this, and of his feeble health and his great reputation, he was beheaded, without the other ferocious accompaniments. So frail was he, that he walked with difficulty from the Bell Tower to Tower Hill; and had to rest thrice on the way. His body, after an ignominious exposure all day, was buried without any funeral rites in the adjacent churchyard of Allhallows. In less than three weeks, a similar sentence was pronounced and carried out, on July 6, 1535, upon Sir Thomas More. Macaulay has rightly described the State Trials of those days as "murder preceded by mummery." More defended himself with his usual ability; and after his condemnation boldly declared the Oath of Supremacy to be unlawful; saying that, after seven years' diligent study, "he could find no colour for holding that a layman could be Head of the Church." He maintained to the last his dignity, his cheerfulness, and even his lambent wit. There was in him a striking resemblance to the Roman Cato. Sir Walter Ralegh was probably thinking of More in the circumstances of his own death. The head was placed on London Bridge, beside that of his friend Fisher. Posterity has done justice to the Catholic martyrs, who chose death rather than falsehood and dishonour. "The animosities are mortal; the humanities live for ever." Doctrinal differences cannot prevent a tribute of respect to the memory of such men. T. E. Bridgett's 'Lives' of Fisher and More, allowing for theological bias, are excellent delineations.

Sir Thomas More's character presents marked contrarieties. His literary attainments and the tragic circumstances of his death have aroused the admiration of posterity. His public career was marked by high principle, by signal ability, and by stately dignity; and his denial of the Royal Supremacy must always be ascribed to honourable consistency. In his administration of affairs it might have been expected that his great learning and his profound knowledge of human nature would have made him tolerant. Naturally gentle and refined, he was stern, and even cruel, towards heretics. Wise, far above average men, in such cases he acted in a manner that seemed devoid of wisdom. He admired the

New Learning, and did his utmost to extend it on the intellectual side; but he clung to Church authority. His dislike of the Reformers arose from what he deemed the political consequences of their tenets; as subversive of civil society. He maintained that belief in the dogmas of the Church was essential to salvation. Its excrescences and abuses did not trouble him. He could laugh when Erasmus poured forth vials of ridicule upon priestly foibles. But the imaginative and reverent sides of More's nature were touched by established usage and tradition; by stately ceremonials and music; by painting and sculpture; and by the way in which the existing system was interwoven with all the affairs of life.

Toleration of those who sought a change was impossible with such a man; although, in his 'Utopia,' he maintains a perfect toleration for all opinions; being "persuaded that it is not in a man's power to believe what he pleases." In spite of this, persecution of heretics was regarded by him as a public duty. There were five holocausts in Smithfield during his Chancellorship; besides similar horrors in provincial towns. Roper, his son-in-law, wrote,—"He so hated this kind of man, that he would be the sorest enemy they could have, if they would not repent." More uses almost the same words in letters to Erasmus. In the inscription written by himself for his tomb it is declared that he was *furibus, homicidis, hæretique molestus, i.e.*, hard, or troublesome, to thieves, murderers, and heretics. His own words repudiate as an insult the suspicion of leniency:—"My epitaph shall record that I have been an enemy to heretics. I say it deliberately. I do so detest that class of men that, unless they repent, I am the worst enemy they have." Herein is found a key to the mystery. Like his friend Erasmus, he was willing to abase the assumptions of the clergy; but, also like him, he did not wish to break with the Papacy or to create a schism in the Church.

The judicial murders of Fisher and More aroused consternation and anger among the Old Party, not only in England, but on the Continent. Men stood aghast at the news that such illustrious and blameless persons had been treated as common felons for conscientious scruples.

From his residence in Basle, where he died in the following year, Erasmus bemoaned the fate of his friends, and taunted the English with submitting to a reign of terror. Cardinal Pole vehemently denounced his royal kinsman as a disgrace to humanity. The Pope and the Cardinals at Rome were horror-stricken. A Bull of Interdict and Deposition was prepared; couched in minatory language such as vied with the threatenings and curses of a Hildebrand or an Innocent the Third. If ever promulgated, which is doubtful, it was not launched for three years; partly from prudential reasons, but chiefly because there were no means to enforce it. Francis I. of France, though disapproving of the Bull, when privately submitted to him, sent a strong letter of remonstrance to Henry. The Emperor declared that he would rather have lost a city than such a sagacious and faithful counsellor as More. So general was the censure that the Council issued a public vindication; and ambassadors were instructed to justify the course taken. Edward Fox, Bishop of Hereford (1535–8), the intimate friend and helper of Cranmer, was dispatched on a mission to the Lutheran princes of Germany. They, however, shrank from one who was more Papal than the Pope. There was no common ground for a League; though Cromwell favoured the scheme. It was repeatedly broached in the following years; but came to nothing. He was the chief administrator of both temporal and spiritual affairs from 1531 to 1540. After filling various posts with success, he was appointed in 1534 to the offices of Master of the Rolls and Secretary of State. In the following year he was created Visitor-General for the suppression of the Monasteries; and in 1536 he exchanged his place of Master of the Rolls for that of Lord Privy Seal; and was ennobled. During the same year he was constituted Vicar-General and Vicegerent over the spirituality. He sat in the highest place in Convocation as the royal representative; the dignitaries rising to greet him, and having to honour his deputy in the same manner. This was an outward and visible sign of the transference of all Papal authority to the King.

Within four months of the death of the unhappy

Queen Katharine, her rival and supplanter, Anne Boleyn, suddenly fell from her high estate. She was charged with adultery with four gentlemen of the household; who were tried, convicted, and executed for conspiring with her to compass the King's death. For this she was also tried before a Commission of peers. Nothing is known of the process or of the evidence. The record is said to have been destroyed in the reign of her daughter Elizabeth. It is a pitiable and a painful story. Anne, nothing loth to a course that promised to gratify feminine vanity, was put forward by designing intriguers for their own purposes. None of them had a word of compassion when she fell from her dizzy eminence. The theological element has been unworthily imported, as if she were a Protestant saint and martyr. Cranmer held a quasi-Court at Lambeth, May 10, 1536, and pronounced her marriage null and void, on the ground of an alleged pre-contract; a prolific source in those days of complications and of gross abuses. Two days later, she was the central figure in a dismal tragedy enacted on the green within the Tower, where the headsman's axe cut short her young life of twenty-nine years. Pity cannot be withheld, for she exacted the price of wifehood and suffered three short years of gilded slavery and miserable splendour; ending with a violent death. The day after, with indecorous haste, Jane Seymour, one of her maids of honour, was betrothed to Henry. The marriage took place ten days later. She died in October of the next year; shortly after the birth of a prince, who became Edward VI. Twelve hundred masses were ordered by the King for the repose of her soul. He married, in January, 1540, Anne of Cleves; whom he is reported to have described in his own coarse style as "a great Flanders mare." His dislike, taken at first sight, deepened into disgust; and a divorce was quickly obtained. Anne raised no objection; being pacified with a generous dowry. Within a month Henry tried a fifth venture, with the daughter of Lord Edward Howard; but she was beheaded on February 13, 1542, for alleged light conduct prior to the marriage. Yet again, in July, 1543, the King was united to Katharine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer; who survived him. This domestic recital

will suffice. The particulars are of no public or permanent concern. Other and vital issues were at stake; involving grave changes in ecclesiastical affairs and in the development of the national life.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERIES.

A.D. 1535–1539.

In the Dissolution of the Monasteries and Nunneries, many high-handed and tyrannical acts were committed. The rapacity with which the enormous plunder was seized by Henry VIII. and his courtiers has covered them with eternal infamy. Apart, however, from personal motives, the matter pressed for settlement, and must have been decided ere long on grounds of political and social economy. It was not conducive to the national well-being for so large a body of men and women to live in what Milton designates "ignoble ease and peaceful sloth," if not, occasionally, in something worse; or that so vast an amount of property left for various beneficent or superstitious purposes should be used for clerical aggrandizement. For a considerable period the true monastic spirit had died out. The evils and abuses inseparable from the system have been repeatedly mentioned in previous Chapters; with the fitful and futile endeavours to restrain them. Diderot, in 'La Religieuse,' written in 1760, describes with vivid realism and painful fidelity the monotonous round of monastic existence; with its dulness, its littleness, its petty routine of perfunctory service, its jealousies and spite, and the subordination of the spiritual to the purely mechanical and formal. Wolsey instituted a partial inquiry, by virtue of his powers as Legate; just as both Cardinal Morton and Warham attempted the task; but little came of it. By the abrogation of the Papal authority within the realm, the right of visitation, which had been wholly neglected or feebly performed for centuries, was conferred upon the

Crown. It was now possible to make a searching investigation into the state of the religious houses. They had successfully evaded all inquiry in the past, by the fatal blunder on the part of Rome of permitting them to be exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. This plea was of no avail against the civil authority. It was a common saying that the Monks were the Pope's garrison in England. Their privileges were held direct from him. They were his servants first, and Englishmen afterwards.

The memorable Visitation was commenced in the Summer of 1535, by Commissioners appointed for the purpose. Eighty-six Articles of Instructions were framed by Cromwell, so as to render the inquiry exhaustive. Reports were to be presented to Parliament in the following Spring. They have long since disappeared; leaving no trace. There are among the Cottonian MSS. and elsewhere contemporary documents dealing with the terrible facts alleged to have been brought to light. A fierce controversy has been waged ever since. Partisanship is by no means extinct when discussing this unsavoury question. It is needless to enter into particulars, or to accept all the tales that were circulated; such as the descriptions, still greedily received by credulous, fanatical, or prurient persons, of subterranean passages between Monasteries and Nunneries. Nor is it needful to concur in the sweeping condemnation pronounced upon the inmates; as if they were all like Simon the Cellarer; or much worse. The character of some of the Visitors is known to have been smirched. They had their own ends to attain, and were not scrupulous as to means. It was an instance of Satan rebuking Sin. They found what they desired; and the inquiry had a foregone conclusion. Many expectant vultures waited for the prey; so that the charges and allegations must be read with caution, and accepted with reserve.

Unfortunately, however, too much is known, on the testimony of adherents, to render it possible to regard the graver charges as disproved, or even as non-proven. Details exist in the pages of friendly writers, of the waste, peculation, idleness, drunkenness, concubinage, unspeakable crimes, false relics, mechanical images, and pretended miracles. No one has written in stronger

terms than Erasmus, from personal knowledge. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, rejoiced that "the Friars, who were the Devil's ministers, had gone with all their trumpery." His predecessor, Fox, a scholar and a statesman, declared that "all things relating to the primitive simplicity of the clergy, especially of the monastic state, are perverted by Indulgences or corruption; or else become obsolete and exploded by the iniquity of the times." Stokesley, Bishop of London, said that the smaller religious houses were as thorns soon plucked up; but the great abbeys were like putrified old oaks. Their suppression, therefore, cannot be regretted; however much the mode calls for condemnation; with its injustice, cruelty, false pretences, greed, and extravagance. A similar drastic measure had been pursued in Germany as a necessity of morality and public policy. An example was also furnished in the case of Sweden, where Gustavus Vasa had just seized Church property. During the last century, similar suppressions have had to be effected in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Mexico.

When the Visitors' Report, or what was alleged to be the substance of it, in the form of what came to be known as the Black Book, since lost, was submitted to Parliament, in February, 1536, there was an outburst of indignation —not wholly virtuous or unselfish—against the Monasteries. "Nothing was heard but 'Down with them'"; says Latimer, in one of his sermons. A great debate ensued; but it was felt that the abuses could not be healed by any measure short of suppression. An Act was passed, dissolving three hundred and seventy-six of the smaller houses, where abuses and scandals were said to have most prevailed. The King was petitioned to take to himself and to his heirs all Monasteries of less annual value than two hundred pounds. According to an objectionable custom of the times, the Act was made retrospective; so as to cover all illegal or doubtful suppressions. Henry thus became possessed, according to Stow, of at least one hundred thousand pounds' worth of plate and other moveables, and of a yearly revenue of nearly fifty thousand; after allowing to the ejected monks and nuns from four to eight pounds annually, the income of

an ordinary parish priest. Payment seems to have been made irregularly. The enormous property was soon dispersed, by gambling; by lavish expenditure; by grants and sales; or by exchange. Like a flight of locusts, the avaricious and the impecunious descended and devoured all. Precedents set by the Parliament of 1414, in taking possession of more than one hundred Alien Priories, and by Wolsey in the establishment of his Oxford College, were diligently followed and improved upon. Thomas Cromwell, the agent employed by Wolsey, had charge of, if, indeed, he did not suggest, the larger measure. He was called *Malleus Monachorum*. Some of the doomed communities made terms for themselves by bribery; Cromwell not being clear of implication. Others did not wait to be suppressed, but voluntarily surrendered their property to the King; in hope of securing his favour. Some were reported as free from stain. Thirty-two were refounded, for a brief period, under provisions contained in the Act of Dissolution; with lessened emoluments. Twenty-six mitred abbots sat at that time in the House of Lords. They concurred in the measure: a sure proof either that it was necessary, because of the notorious evils, or that it was submitted to as a matter of expediency, to avert something worse. Many of the abbots and priors were cadets of noble families; living as country gentlemen on the monastic estates, which were administered by bailiffs on the old agricultural system that was passing away. But tillage could not for ever be carried on at a loss; and already not a few of the smaller monasteries had been closed or absorbed; while others were being threatened with bankruptcy.

The turn of the Greater Monasteries soon came. They were scattered over the face of the country, to the number, according to Bishop Tanner, of one hundred and eighty-six. Of these, exceeding two hundred pounds in yearly value, Yorkshire had twenty; Somerset, eleven; Lincolnshire, ten; London and Devon, nine; Norfolk, Kent, and Hants, eight each; Essex, seven; Bedfordshire, Dorset, Gloucester, Surrey, and Wilts, six each; and varying numbers in the other counties. Some of the abbeys covered an extensive area; and the inmates,

with their servants and dependents, formed a population equal to that of a large village. Existing ruins attest the range and the character of the buildings, with their spacious accessories. The method pursued differed from the measure of 1536. There was no formal suppression, as is commonly asserted, but arrangements were made for the surrender of such as had not already yielded. Of the undoubted pressure brought to bear, nothing is said. On the contrary, it is made to appear, with much voluble protestation, that the act was voluntary. Particulars are given in the Reports of the Deputy-Keeper of the Public Records, as handed down from the Augmentation Office, and in one of the issues of the Camden Society. The lengthy and elaborate Statute—31 Henry VIII. c. 13—recites, in rhetorical fashion that deceives no one, how the heads of certain abbeys, "of their owne free and voluntarie myndes, good willes, and assents, without constraynte, coaction, or compulsion of any manner of persons," had relinquished to the King all the possessions belonging thereto. Leases and grants made within a year preceding were to be void; excepting those for twenty-one years, or for life. The King, and other possessors of the lands, were to hold them free of tithe, as the Monasteries had done. Mitred abbots ceased to sit in the House of Lords in 1539; and the less than two score temporal Peers were speedily increased by mushroom noblemen created from among the Court parasites. For the first time for a long period, ecclesiastics were in a minority; being represented by the twenty-one bishops.

Before the expiration of the year, thirty-seven great abbeys and priories, and twenty nunneries, had been given up to the King. The rich abbeys of Reading, Colchester, and Glastonbury, the heads of which were peers of the realm and magnates with vast landed possessions, were declared forfeited, owing to their abbots being attainted and executed for alleged high treason; meaning thereby, a refusal to recognise the Royal Supremacy in Church affairs. The remainder followed during the next year. In all, six hundred and eight religious houses were surrendered or seized; including those belonging to the Knights Hospitallers and to

various bodies of Friars. The effects are shown in the long list of towns given in 32 Henry VIII. cap. 17 to 19; as suffering from depopulation and decay. The annual revenue is stated by Tanner (1674–1735), in the 'Notitia,' at one hundred and forty thousand pounds; and by John Speed (1555–1629), in a list of eighty-four folio pages, at a little over one hundred and eighty-six thousand; equivalent to at least two millions and a half in the present day; but some of the returns are missing or imperfect. The total yearly value of all ecclesiastical property, including the above, with all the bishoprics, prebends, and benefices, is given by Speed at three hundred and twenty thousand. The land held by the religious houses was said to be about one-fifth of the entire acreage of the country. Enormous quantities of church plate and furniture, precious stones, lace, rich embroidery, silk vestments, lead from the roofs, bells, and other valuables, also accrued to the King. Returns of all ecclesiastical valuations were entered in what was known as 'The King's Book,' to which reference has ever since been made in connection with the value of benefices; although the actual worth vastly exceeds the nominal amounts, owing to a change in the purchasing power of money. The property thus escheated did not fall into the Exchequer. Much was intercepted by officials of all grades, or was alienated and squandered; principally in lavish grants to favourites, or in discharge of gambling debts, or in sales on easy terms to needy and greedy courtiers; who, whether belonging to the Old Learning party or the New, clamoured for a share in the booty. This is a cheap kind of generosity which monarchs are adepts in practising. Henry retained no inconsiderable portion of the spoil for his own use; and from time to time he sold Church lands when money was required. Six episcopal Sees, out of fifteen as proposed by Cranmer and Latimer, were created; at Oxford, Peterborough, Gloucester, Bristol—merged in 1850—Chester, and Westminster; but the last one was speedily suppressed. As a rule, the last abbot or prior of the absorbed Monasteries became dean of the new foundation. An Act was also passed for the appointment of twenty-six suffragan bishops; but only a few were appointed, and these soon lapsed.

The public mind was reconciled to the Dissolution by a promise that the estates should not be converted to the King's private use, but be devoted to education; to the relief of distress; to the maintenance of a military force; to the protection of the coasts; and to such works of utility as highways and harbours. An expectation was created that no more demands would be made on the nation for Aids and Subsidies for such purposes. The event showed how fallacious was such a hope when the lust of spoil had been aroused. As a matter of fact, out of more than a million and a quarter paid from all sources into the Court of Augmentations from 1536 to 1547, including both capital and revenue, less than half was devoted to purposes that could be styled national. A similar pretence was raised in the last year but one of this reign (1546), when a Bill was passed by both Houses for the dissolution of all colleges, chantries, hospitals, free chapels, &c. Henry died before the Act could be carried into effect; but this was done, to their own advantage, by Court parasites, who ruled in the name of his son. The property of numerous trade guilds was also confiscated. The promise to erect and endow grammar-schools, to augment the colleges in the Universities, and to make better provision for the poor and needy, was fulfilled in only a slight degree. A few of the titled robbers succeeded in transmitting their ill-gotten gains to their descendants; but most of the families sunk into poverty after a few generations; and others became wholly extinct. The facts are indisputable; though there may be pardonable hesitation in regarding them as the Divine curse upon sacrilege, with some partisan writers. Much impassioned disputation has been waged over the whole question of so-called Church property; from the celebrated treatise on 'Sacrilege,' written by Sir Henry Spelman, in 1632, down to the present day. Strictly speaking, the Established Church, whether Romanist or Protestant, is not a corporate body. Church property is simply national property devoted to a specific purpose by the will of the Legislature, as representing the nation. The application of the money has been modified, controlled, and diverted repeatedly; with the conditions under which it is held. An Act of

Parliament is essential before even the slightest change can be effected in the doctrines, the rubrics, or the government of the Church. The clergy have always tried to confuse the vital issues. They pretend to be the Church; whereas this is really, as the nineteenth Article declares, a congregation of all faithful men, in the spiritual sense; as it is the entire nation, in the legal sense. English jurists and politicians have maintained this view whenever circumstances required the constitutional assertion of the national will.

A passage is often quoted from Bale, Bishop of Ossory (1495–1563), respecting the alleged loss to literature by the destruction of monastic libraries. Much maudlin sentiment has been indulged; for which no warrant exists. The earlier Monks diligently laboured in the Scriptorium, copying and illuminating ancient classics, and transcribing and adorning missals, books of devotion, and the national Chronicles. Their ignorant successors effaced many beautiful and priceless works, in order to use the parchment and vellum for perpetuating lying legends and pretended miracles; as was mentioned in the twenty-fifth Chapter. Some of the choicest Greek and Roman classics were irrecoverably lost. The prophets' holographs were erased or covered by monastic ignorance and credulity; and became less decipherable than an Egyptian palimpsest. The loss of such works could not be replaced by the absurd speculations of the Schoolmen, by stories of relics, or the pretended lives of obscure saints. John Leland (1506–1552), the antiquary appointed by Henry VIII. to make a literary and archæological survey of the kingdom, states that the works which he saw in cathedral and monastic libraries, so far as they were of any value, had been for the most part printed in Germany and Italy. The valuable collection which Bishop Grosseteste bequeathed to the Franciscan convent in Oxford, was found in a ruinous state, covered with dust and cobwebs. This was only one instance out of many.

Leland is entitled to great credit for the enthusiasm with which he pursued his task. He projected a colossal work on British Antiquities; designed, as he said, to open a window that had been stopped for a thousand

years, and to cause the ancient glory of the land to revive. It was to have been comprised in as many books as there were shires, for the purpose of recording memorable things in each. His spacious design could not be carried out, for lack of means and of encouragement. Only a part of his 'Itinerary' was published in twenty volumes by Thomas Hearne (1678–1735); a zealous fellow-antiquary. The remainder of Leland's great collections still lie entombed in manuscript in the Cottonian, the Bodleian, and other libraries; or have perished altogether. But his labours gave the key-note to the patriotism of the Elizabethan age, with its proud ambition to record and magnify the former renown of Britain, and to raise it in glorious rivalry with Greece, and Rome, and Italy. He was the literary progenitor of an illustrious line that includes Archbishop Parker, John Stow, William Camden, Sir Henry Spelman, Roger Dodsworth, Henry Wharton, Nicolson, Archbishop of Cashel, Gibson, Bishop of London, Thomas Hearne, and Bishop Tanner; whose patient labours collected for the use of future writers materials of history long buried and almost forgotten. John Speed also deserves special and honourable mention as the first modern English historian in the true sense of the term; although commonly regarded as a mere Chronicler. A new school of research was being formed. Such men as Sir Roger Twysden (1597–1672), John Selden (1584–1654), Sir William Dugdale (1605–1686), and Thomas Rymer (1638–1713), applied themselves to search for and to examine all the available materials of English history; long hidden away in public and private depositories. Thomas Fuller (1608–1661), genial, witty, and shrewd, with a lively imagination and a sound judgment, patient and laborious, clear and comprehensive, was the first Englishman since the time of Bæda to use the ecclesiastical history of his country so as to present a distinct and suggestive outline of Church affairs.

Exaggerated statements have been made as to charitable doles at the abbey-gates, and as to the alleged increase of mendicancy when these ceased. Beggars had multiplied long before; to the scandal of the community. Legislative means had been repeatedly taken, during two

centuries, to restrain them. The afflicted and helpless poor received licenses to beg ; under a system first introduced in 1389. By a Statute of 1531—the date proving that the impulse sprang from urgent calamities, and had nothing to do with the Monasteries, which were not then dissolved—Justices of the Peace were directed to assign to the impotent poor a limit within which to beg. Any found beyond the prescribed area, or begging without leave, were to be severely whipped, or placed in the stocks for two days and nights ; fed on bread and water ; and sworn to return to their licensed place. An able-bodied beggar was to be "whipped through the town till his body be bloody," and then ordered to go to his place of birth or his last legal residence, and there commence labour.

One of the Statutes of 1536 introduced a system of compulsory relief. Parochial, city, and county officers were enjoined "charitably to receive such needy persons" and supply their immediate wants out of voluntary alms ; but "sturdy vagabonds, valiant beggars, and such as be lusty" were to be kept to continual labour. Alms-boxes were to be placed in the churches, and all other modes of charity were forbidden. Wealthy parishes were to aid the poorer. "A sturdy beggar is to be whipped the first time ; his right ear cropped a second time ; and if he again offend, to be sent to the next gaol till the Quarter Sessions, and there indicted for wandering, loitering, and idleness ; and if convicted, shall suffer death as a felon." Parish officers were to apprehend idle children, and apprentice them to husbandry or to some handicraft. Mendicant scholars, proctors, pardoners, fortune-tellers, quacks, and wrecked shipmen, and all begging without authority, were to be regarded as imposters, and treated in the same way as sturdy beggars. Other idle persons wandering about the country, were to be whipped two days in succession ; placed in the pillory or the stocks ; and have their ears cut off for repeated offences. The evil continued to increase, and had to be dealt with in the reign of Elizabeth by the drastic measures described in the forty-seventh Chapter. Even if every asserted detail respecting monastic charity were true, the effect of indiscriminate

almsgiving must have been to encourage pauperism and to degrade public morals. It is not for the good of any community that the strong and able-bodied should be able to gain an eleemosynary subsistence without work.

Another evil was actually induced at the time; although it is usual to ascribe it to a later period and to another man. Oliver Cromwell is commonly regarded by tradition —another word for antiquated rumour—as the iconoclast of all sacred edifices. Apart from the slow decay caused by the tooth of Time, there are numerous records of wanton damage in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, caused by rival parties and by brutal soldiers. In the commotions under Henry VIII., and in succeeding years, when so many ecclesiastical buildings were stripped, and the component parts carried away for base uses, dignitaries like Dean Whittingham, of Durham, Dean Wilford, of Ely, Bishop Warton, of St. Asaph, Bishop Barlow, of St. David's, and then of Wells, and others, did not scruple to plunder and destroy the magnificent edifices of which they were the custodians; earning for themselves a disgraceful notoriety by their vandalism and sacrilege. The dismantled buildings were left as common quarries; from which, for generations, people in the localities carted materials for ordinary building purposes. There are many instances of previous spoliation; confirmed by reports from royal officials who were sent to strip the monasteries of their valuable leaden roofs, to confiscate the bells, and to deplete the buildings, after they or their associates had seized the painted windows, the precious metals, the gems, and the rich copes and tapestry. Leland records the injury caused to churches, as well as to monasteries and other buildings, long prior to his time. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, ignorant "restorers," by the free use of crowbar, chisel, cement, and whitewash, swept away or covered over the exquisite work of earlier ages, and substituted hideous excrescences; wholly out of harmony with the surroundings.

In such a period of ferment, it was to be expected that some things would be said and done of which sober judgment cannot approve. There was a rebound from

superstition to criticism of a reckless sort, that led, as is always the case, to the opposite extreme of incredulity and scepticism; if, indeed, it did not become ribaldry and blasphemy. Convocation met, as usual, with the assembling of Parliament, in June, 1536. A graphic account of the proceedings is in existence, from the pen of Alexander Alane, or Alesius, a Scotch visitor, and a friend of Luther and of Melanchthon. He was introduced by Thomas Cromwell; and his interest in the debates of this stormy assembly is such as can be fully appreciated by no one but a Scotch theologian, with his love for metaphysical discussions, and for verbal refinements and subtleties. The Lower House presented a lengthy list of what they termed "errors and abuses" deemed worthy of special reformation; comprised in sixty-seven particulars. The most noteworthy were, that the Sacrament of the Altar was not esteemed; some scoffers calling it "a little pretty round robin," or a "Jack in the box"; or giving the consecrated wafer to a dog; or washing the hands in the baptismal font. Such things as extreme unction; priestly authority; the worship of images, saints, and relics; auricular confession, absolution, penance, excommunication, and Purgatory were called in question or flatly denied. Some asserted "that the singing or saying of Mass, matins, or evensong, is but a roaring, howling, whistling, mumming, conjuring, and juggling;" "that holy water is but juggled water;" and that the only binding constitutions upon Christian men are such as are found in the New Testament. The colloquialism of Hocus-Pocus dates back to this period, and is a travesty of the phrase, *Hoc est corpus;* used by the priest in the solemn act of consecrating the elements.

This subject of what is called Reformation Ribaldry has aroused much disputation. It is not surprising, however much it may be regretted, that in a transition and an excited period there should have been vulgar and blasphemous pasquinades; with outbreaks of fanaticism and a spirit of lawlessness. Coverdale, John Foxe, and other contemporary writers, give many instances. The country was ringing with the din of theological strife. Doctrines and ceremonies were fiercely debated. Division

and discord prevailed, and civil war was threatened; for political and religious questions were inextricably mingled. The debate in Convocation was adjourned; but was never resumed. Nothing came of the retrograde attempt of the Old Party; except in a way that they did not anticipate or desire. Modern statesmanship would have insisted upon universal toleration; but this was an unknown principle. Convocation having failed to devise means to restore peace and unity, the King undertook the task. To quote his words; he felt himself "constrained to put his own pen to the book, and to conceive certain Articles necessary to be set forth, read, and taught, for avoiding of all contention." Ten Articles of Religion were therefore framed, and issued to the clergy, with the royal license; as if with the formula,—"We believe whatsoever we are commanded to believe." Though they profess to have been "agreed upon by the bishops and the most discreet and best learned men of the realm, after long and mature deliberation and disputation," they were really prepared under the personal direction of Henry; aided, perhaps, by Cromwell, Cranmer, and Latimer. Among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum (Cleopatra, E., V.) is a curious letter from Latimer, relating to this production; giving arguments against Purgatory; with marginal annotations, in Henry's writing, in defence of the customary doctrine. The Ten Articles, as set forth, did not differ substantially from the accepted creed of Christendom; though four out of the Seven Sacraments were passed over in silence; the direct worship of images was condemned; and Purgatory was left uncertain. The Scriptures, with the ancient Creeds and Councils, were to be the only standards of faith. Justification was declared to be "the remission of sins and a perfect renovation in Christ."

On the other hand, Baptism and Penance were held to be necessary to salvation; the Real Presence in the Eucharist was insisted upon; images were allowed, and saints were to be honoured; existing vestments and usages were to be retained, with prayers and Masses for the dead. Children were to be taught the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, in

English ; and the clergy were to see that they were brought up to a trade or living. All this furnishes an illustration of how pulpit teaching had fallen into desuetude, and religion had largely become a thing of forms and ceremonies, of State machinery and despotism. The theological attitude of Cranmer and his friends secured that in the doctrinal medley set up by the Ten Articles, five of them should embody points in the Confession of Augsburg ; but there was no legislative solvent to compel the oil and vinegar to blend. The strong will of Henry and of Cromwell effectually kept down any tendency towards Lutheranism ; but the full effects of the strife were seen in Elizabeth's reign. One phrase in Cromwell's first Injunctions to the Clergy, dated November 20, 1536, is curious as the germ of the monstrous doctrine of Passive Obedience, which caused so much trouble in the next century : "We will and command you to declare the obedience due by God's laws to their prince and sovereign lord, against whose commandment they ought in no wise, though the same were unjust, to use any violence." A century and more of woe lay hidden in that brief sentence.

Such directions as the above, issued by a layman, though approved by Cranmer, and enforced by a royal authority that was virtually absolute, must have been unpalatable to the great body of the clergy. Even the bitter remembrance of the Acts of Submission and of Supremacy, and of the terrible Præmunire, could hardly secure obedience to these further demands. Carried out honestly, they might have changed the face of England for the better, and paved the way for a new order of things ; but from many pulpits the directions were purposely read in such a way as to prevent the people from understanding them ; and they were ignored wherever possible. These changes could not be effected without arousing resentment and opposition. Vested interests and monopolies were assailed. A rude shock was given to the ancient order of things. Custom is the law of fools. With the exception of Cranmer, Latimer —by this time Bishop of Worcester—Shaxton of Salisbury, Goodrich of Ely, Fox of Hereford, Hilsey of Rochester, and Barlow of St. David's, the prelates and

the higher orders of the clergy were not in sympathy with recent and impending changes. The dispossessed monks and nuns fomented ill-will. There were also troubles arising out of the existing condition of agriculture, trade, industry, and the debased currency. Food was unusually dear. Land had gone out of tillage, and was converted into pasturage. Small farms had been absorbed into large holdings. The system of land tenure led to cruel evictions and much suffering. Many villages had decayed. It was cunningly insinuated that the churches would share the fate of the monasteries; that taxes would become unbearable; ancient rights be abolished, personal liberties restrained, and local customs infringed. During the summer of 1536 there was growing uneasiness; with an occasional outbreak. The first serious insurrection occurred in October, in Lincolnshire, and was said to involve twenty thousand men: probably an exaggeration. They complained of the suppression of the Monasteries; of the King's "mean and evil counsellors," referring to Cromwell and Lord Chancellor Audley; of "bad bishops," or such as favoured the Reformed opinions; and of "four of the Sacraments being taken away." Henry treated them with characteristic Tudor contumely; asking what right "the rude commons of one shire, and that the most brute and beastly of the whole realm," had to question the prince whom they were bound to "obey and serve with their lives, lands, and goods?" He told them in set terms that it was not the business of his subjects to appoint councillors for him, and to interfere with matters which did not concern them. Such words aggravated, instead of allaying the complaints. Probably it was with reference to a similar incident, that Bacon says ('Essay' 52),—"I have noted that some witty and sharp speeches which have fallen from princes, have given rise to seditions." The Duke of Suffolk was dispatched with a levy of militia from the Southern counties; which, under the Tudors, took the place of the old feudal array; but his diplomacy spared an appeal to force. The tumultuous assemblage melted away; and the threatened insurrection was quelled for the time.

A more formidable one appeared in Yorkshire—the

English La Vendée of those days—known as the Holy and Blessed Pilgrimage of Grace. Persons of high degree took part in it. The demands formulated, when the Duke of Norfolk arrived with a force levied in the South and West, showed that clerical intrigues were at the root. Some of the great abbots were afterwards attainted for supplying the rebels with money. Heralds were sent into the disaffected districts, with proclamations intended to expose the alleged falsehoods by which the rebellion had been fomented. The rising, and a second that occurred in 1537, were put down; not without difficulty; and only after a compromise that virtually conceded the demands. The alarm at Court was as great as that caused two hundred years later by the march of the Pretender to Derby with his Highland followers. Many executions took place; rows of miserable wretches being strung on gibbets. Whole districts were abandoned to military license; alike brutal, cowardly, and horrible in every age. Nor did the leaders escape. Among those executed were several noblemen, like Lord Darcy, and the heir of the Percy family of Northumberland; and six abbots of great houses, such as Whalley, Woburn, Fountains, and Jervaulx. The latter, like their brethren, were ignominiously hanged; but were honoured by their followers as martyrs for the true faith; as was Friar Forest, of Greenwich, who was hung in chains and burned in Smithfield, May 22, 1538, for alleged treason and heresy. Bishop Latimer preached the usual sermon; by order. The Countess of Salisbury, niece of Edward IV., was said to be implicated; and her extreme age and grey hairs did not save her from the block. Her son, Lord Montacute, and her kinsman, the Marquis of Exeter, were also beheaded; leaving a legacy of unquenchable hatred and of revenge to her other son, Cardinal Pole. In November of the same year, John Lambert, or Nicolson, being condemned in Cranmer's Court for denying the Real Presence, appealed to the King, as Supreme Head. Henry heard the case in person. For five hours did the solitary but intrepid man hold his ground against Cranmer and nine other prelates; and was then burned.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THEOLOGICAL FLUX.

A.D. 1537–1547.

The leaven of Protestantism was slowly working in the public mind; although the King, the majority of his Council, and nearly the whole of the Legislature, with the clergy and the bulk of the nation, remained Catholics in sentiment and practice. They still indulged in the dream of a doctrinal unity. To shake off the Papal yoke was one thing. To be regarded as schismatics by Christendom was a very different thing. The Ten Articles failed to secure doctrinal uniformity; being themselves ambiguous; and offering facilities to casuistry. A theological code was therefore issued in 1537, under the title of 'The Pious and Godly Institution of a Christian Man'; drawn up by the bishops, under the authority of a Special Commission; after prolonged and sometimes fierce debates extending over four months. It was then revised by the King, whose numerous alterations are shown in the edition of Cranmer's Works issued by the Parker Society. He had a taste for verbal theological tinkering, and regarded himself as an adept in doctrinal controversy. The book comprised four commentaries on the Creed, the Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. It is interesting to the student as a curious amalgam of dogmatic statements; in which, however, the old Catholic standards were rigidly maintained. The mystic number of seven was reverted to in the Sacraments. The nature of supposed sacramental grace was expressed in the old manner. In theology, the book does not differ materially from that set forth in the Ten Articles. Some rejoiced at the time, while others lamented, that the new book restored all things to their old uses. Cranmer, Latimer, and their associates had not advanced in 1537 to the Protestant position. While rejecting "superstitious abuses," they still held firmly the dogma of Transubstantiation, with its logical consequences. The common state of religious knowledge and of opinion

may be gathered from a 'Dialogue of Familiar Talk,' issued in 1554, the writer of which asks, —"Twenty years ago, who could say the Lord's Prayer in English? Who could tell any article of his faith? Who had once heard of any of the Ten Commandments? Who knew what Catechism meant? Who understood any point of holy baptism? If we were sick of the pestilence, we ran to St. Rook; if of the ague, to St. Pernel, or Master John Thorne. If men were in prison, they prayed to St. Leonard. If the Welshman would have a purse, he prayed to David Gathorne. If a wife were weary of her husband, she offered oats at St. Paul's in London to St. Uncumber."

Writing in the year 1537, Cranmer says, in one of the Zurich Letters, that he had carefully studied the question, and read all that had been written upon it by the German Reformers; but was still of opinion that the doctrine of the Real Presence as taught in the Romish Church was supported "by evident and manifest passages of Scripture, and commended with clearness and diligence by the earliest ecclesiastical writers." Eventually, he saw reason to abandon this ground, as untenable, when he came to apply his own maxim that the Scriptures are above tradition and ceremonies. This stage had not been reached in 1537; and herein lies the true explanation of the character of what came to be known as 'The Bishops' Book.' Strictly speaking, it was in no sense an authoritative avowal of the opinions of either Romanists or Reformers; lay or clerical. It represented such theological views as the King and the Council chose to permit, without giving them express sanction; in serene confidence that it was his by Divine Right to dictate the faith of the nation. Neither the clergy, through Convocation, nor the English people, through the Legislature, had any voice in the matter. It is an error to treat either the 'Institution' or the Ten Articles in any other way than as the assertion of royal dogmatism. Perplexing questions which had arisen were not thereby settled, but only postponed; to appear again at a later period. The intention was to issue the book with the royal imprimatur; but, for some unexplained reason, this was withheld. It could not have been published

without leave; yet formal sanction was not given; though the draft of a letter from the King, evidently intended as a Preface, is among the State Papers (Chapter House Papers, A. 1. 15), in which he expresses himself as satisfied; orders the printing; and recommends that parts should be read every Sunday and on festivals. The whole matter is shrouded in mystery, which it is useless to attempt to penetrate. Apart from its peculiar bias, the 'Institution' was well adapted to instruct the people in the service of God and in the practical duties of life. By general consent, high praise is accorded to it in this respect; and also for its majestic style; which may reasonably be ascribed to Cranmer's master-hand. Its sentences have that grave, stately, rhythmic march which belongs to the noblest devotional literature; reaching its sublimest movement in such works as Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' in Jeremy Taylor's 'Holy Living,' and in the 'Book of Common Prayer.'

Thousands of documents are still in existence, especially in the form of reports sent to Cromwell by confidential agents throughout the country, revealing local opinions as expressed in palace and cottage; in cathedral chapter and country church; in town and village; in the market and the roadside inn. Every ale-house, forge, town-cross, or pulpit, was the scene of eager discussion. The people were divided into hostile camps; for and against the Reformation. The temporal and the spiritual powers were arrayed against each other. The vast army of officials identified with the latter was backed by the Papal Bull excommunicating Henry. Though they had taken the required oaths of Succession and Supremacy, in many cases this was done in an evasive and a non-natural sense. More persecutions of Catholics took place. A seizure was made of pretended miraculous images, of relics, and of shrines; from that of St. Cuthbert of Durham to that of St. Edward of Westminster; all of which were invested with enormous wealth. The last-named was reconstructed during the reign of Mary, and it remained as the sole instance of extinct splendour until recent discoveries in St. Alban's. Becket's Shrine at Canterbury was the richest of all. Like the

rest, its accumulated gold and jewels, filling two vast chests, were confiscated. It must have vied for wealth and grandeur with the renowned treasury of Delphi before it was plundered by the Phocians during the Sacred War. Becket was unsainted, by royal order; and stigmatized as a rebel and a traiter who had perished in a quarrel provoked by his own violence. The stonework of his shrine was smashed to pieces with hammers. By a writ of Quo Warranto, in 1538, he was formally summoned to appear. His canonized bones were burned to ashes, mixed with rubbish, and scattered to the winds; as had been done to Wycliffe's remains a hundred and twenty-four years previously. This act towards a Saint, shocked the religious sentiment of Europe.

The wealth that had accumulated in the cathedrals, minsters, abbeys, and larger parish churches in the course of centuries, most of which was confiscated under orders of the King, and absorbed into the royal treasury or distributed among the courtiers, may be surmised from the inventory taken in 1295 at St. Paul's; from that of York, in 1510; from that of Lincoln, in 1536, and others; all of which occupy many columns in Dugdale's 'Monasticon.' Similar enumerations exist, of earlier date; such as one of the plate and vestments of St. Paul's in 1245, and another taken in 1402. Most of these, throughout the country were brought within the category of "superstitious relics," when the shrines were demolished; or were seized as "superfluous jewels, plate, copes, and other such like"; all of which were swept into the huge drag-net that was being drawn over England. The lists comprise numerous gold and silver-gilt chalices, patens, and almsdishes; enamelled, or adorned with precious stones; including emeralds, garnets, onyx, amethysts, sapphires, and cornelians; pastoral staves of chased silver; censers, crosses, incense-boats, massive candelabra, and numerous vessels of the same metal, or silver-gilt; episcopal rings with massive jewels; rich mitres set with pearls; numerous shrines covered with silver or gold plates, enriched with gems, and with figures of saints and angels in high relief; embroidered gloves, sandals, and stockings; copes of baudekin and silken stuffs, with gold and silver threads interwoven—St. Paul's possessed no

fewer than one hundred and seventy-nine—richly worked in appropriate ecclesiastical patterns, and clasped with brooches of gold set in precious stones. Chasubles, tunicles, albs, dalmatics, and other vestments existed in untold numbers; the accumulations of years, and the gifts of devout admirers; with altar-cloths, tapestry, and cushions of rare embroidery; and missals of the highest style of the caligraphist's art, bound in plates of silver, parcel-gilt, studded with gems.

In the same year (1530) that the Greater Monasteries were surrendered, a system of parochial registration of weddings, christenings, and burials was instituted. A second series of Injunctions, precursors of the more celebrated Injunctions under Edward VI. and Elizabeth, was issued to the clergy, again ordering them to teach the people the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in English. Another abortive attempt was made, by means of correspondence with Melanchthon, and of visits by commissioners, to establish an alliance on a basis of common doctrine between English and German Protestants. The ebb-tide of ecclesiastical change had been reached; for Henry would not abandon any of his theological tenets, or concede the desired permission to circulate the Bible. All that Cranmer and his colleagues could do was to wait and hope. They had to contend with the most able and crafty of the Romanist prelates, in Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who returned to England in September, 1538, after an absence of three years on the Continent on diplomatic missions. He was an acute controversialist; industrious and capable in the conduct of affairs; shrewd, vigilant, and resolute; unrelenting in hostility to the Reformed doctrines; and qualified in every way to become the leader and champion of the Old Party in England. In the reactionary legislation of the remainder of the reign his hand is clearly traceable. Henceforth, it was a struggle, not only for power, but for existence, between him and Cromwell. Even the gentle and peace-loving Cranmer was sorely tried; and more than once was in imminent danger. The contest waxed warmer during the Winter, with varying results; but, on the whole, in favour of the reactionary party.

After a prorogation of nearly three years, summonses had been issued for Parliament and for Convocation. Both sides prepared for a trial of strength. The intermediate section, larger than either, watched the course of affairs. On May 5, 1539, a week after the assembling of the Legislature, a message was delivered by Chancellor Audley that the King desired to put an end to all controversies in religion, and therefore suggested the appointment of a Committee to prepare Articles of Agreement. It consisted of prelates drawn from both parties. After much polemical wrangling, the result was the passing, on June 28, of an Act for abolishing diversity of opinions in certain Articles concerning the Christian religion. It was the prelude to a series of Acts of Uniformity; and the beginning of a perilous course of legislation. It is commonly termed the Act of Six Articles. Hall, the Chronicler, styles it the Whip with Six Strings. Popularly it was known as the Bloody Statute. Cranmer and the bishops who acted with him opposed it in the Upper House; but in vain. After reciting the danger arising from false opinions to the peace of the Commonwealth and to the souls of such as were infected by heresy, the Act declares that the natural body and blood of Christ are present under the form of bread and wine; that communion in both kinds is not necessary to salvation; that married life in the clergy is contrary to the law of God; that vows of chastity, whether taken by man or woman should be binding; that the custom of private masses should be continued; and auricular confession to a priest used as in former times. It was provided that if any person preached, disputed, or wrote against the doctrine of Transubstantiation, it should not avail him to abjure; he should certainly forfeit goods and lands to the King, and die by burning as a heretic. Priests or nuns who had married were at once to separate, or be dealt with as felons, and those living carnally with the other sex were to suffer imprisonment and forfeiture on the first conviction, and death on the second. Persons refusing to confess, or to attend Mass at customary times, should be dealt with as felons. Commissioners were appointed to make inquisition four times yearly. Justices in Sessions were to see the Act administered.[1]

All books contrary to the Articles were to be seized and burned. It was hazardous to be of "a wrong opinion on the Blessed Sacrament," or on any other dogma; and yet it was difficult to be of a right opinion when this changed from month to month at the convenience or the caprice of factions surrounding the King.

When another attempt was made under cover of this Act to assail Cranmer and Cromwell, Henry again intervened to protect them. Both were useful; and Cranmer was essential. If he were removed, a new archbishop would not have possessed the authority over the priesthood which he had by virtue of his Bull of Consecration and the pallium from Rome. Latimer resigned his See; not, as is usually said, on account of the Act of Six Articles, though he disapproved of it and opposed it, but through the crooked policy of Cromwell, who represented that the King was displeased, and wished him to resign; a statement wholly without authority. Latimer's withdrawal from the prelacy was an irreparable loss to his colleagues and to the cause of the Reformation; for it silenced for eight years the voice of the most eloquent and powerful preacher in England. He was molested once or twice by persecutors; and in 1546, after an interval, during which absolutely nothing is known of him, he was committed to the Tower on a vague suspicion of treason. He continued there until released by the death of Henry in the following January. The number of those who suffered under this penal Act has been much exaggerated. It was not at first enforced with the relentless severity intended and urged by its promoters. Foxe enumerates only twenty victims; some of whom were condemned under other Statutes. A partial explanation is furnished by the fact that many emigrated for a time to Germany and Switzerland, until the fury of the storm was spent. Their enforced residence abroad, with that of the Marian exiles at a later day, among the Lutherans and the Calvinists, had important bearings on the future of the English Church. In like manner, a statement has received almost universal currency and credence, that seventy-two thousand criminals were executed during the reign of Henry the Eighth. No reliable authority can be found for the assertion; which

rests entirely upon idle rumour that has been undoubtedly magnified in its anonymous transmission.

The downfall of Cromwell is usually ascribed to Henry's aversion to Anne of Cleves, whom he married, as was alleged, by Cromwell's instigation; with a view to strengthen his own position by alliance with the German Protestants. More potent causes of his overthrow were his growing quarrel with such bigoted Romanists as Norfolk and Gardiner; the dislike and jealousy of many of the peers, who looked upon him as an upstart, a plebeian, and an adventurer; the resentment of the Commons at recent Subsidies raised by his advice; and the selfish hatred of a legion of dispossessed monks scattered throughout the country. Pole's standing appellation for him is "the Messenger of Satan; a wretch of low birth, brutal insolence, and atheistic morals." His ruin involved the collapse of his bold and cherished project, to combine the princes of North Germany with France and England in a League against the Emperor. Henry preferred an alliance with Charles V., on political and religious grounds; especially to secure the calling of a Council to settle their disputes with the Pope and to re-unite Christendom; from the traditional belief and usage of which neither of them intended to break away. The rejected plan of a Protestant League, if carried out to a successful issue, might have averted the Thirty Years' War; materially affected the character of the Reformation movement; and changed the whole course of European history.

As in many other instances, Cromwell's personal influence has been grossly exaggerated. Other forces were at work, which neither he nor Henry could control. His fall was greater and more sudden than that of his old master, Wolsey. Like Damocles, the sword had long been suspended above him by a hair. In the discharge of his high functions, he necessarily aroused much enmity; and he sometimes indulged in a braggart humour and in rough sallies which the victims never forgot. The revenge taken upon him was commensurate. On the tenth of June, 1540, he was suddenly arrested at the Council-table on charges of heresy and treason. A Bill of Attainder was rushed through Parliament with

the customary and scandalous haste. This method of dealing with political rivals and offenders was as expeditious and effectual as the ancient method of hurling them from the Tarpeian Rock. He was privately examined, but had no legal trial; nor was anything worthy of the name of evidence adduced against him. The terrible instrument of Attainder, which he had brought to perfection against others, was used to effect his ruin. On the twenty-eighth of July he was beheaded on Tower Hill. Henry acted just as he did with Wolsey, and abandoned the man whose devoted and often unscrupulous services were no longer needed. Cranmer said,—"He was such a servant, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience as no prince in this realm ever had." His temper and methods must be judged by the times. Haughty and stern towards his rivals, it is recorded that he was always accessible to the poor and weak, and that the oppressed and wronged found in him a defender. With his death, a reaction set in. It seemed as if the very small part of the Reformation yet accomplished in England would be undone; and as if Cranmer must be overthrown; but Henry continued to protect him, though often acting capriciously, and in a way that must have tried the placid sweetness of the Archbishop.

Cromwell had announced, early in 1540, the appointment of two other committees of prelates and theologians, to compile new codes of doctrines and ceremonies. Certain questions were proposed to each. Their conflicting answers—still preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum—were submitted to Henry. The result was seen in the publication by royal authority in May, 1543, of 'A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man.' To distinguish it from the 'Institution' of 1537—or 'The Bishops' Book,' although that name would have been more fitting—it was commonly styled 'The King's Book.' It is more copious; but it teaches the same dogmas, with the addition of the sufficiency of the Communion under one kind. The publication was approved by both Houses of Convocation and by the Legislature. All books or writings in opposition to it were prohibited. It was ordered by Cranmer to be circulated in every diocese,

and it was followed, ostensibly, by every preacher, in conformity with a declaration on the title-page, that it was "set forth by the King's Majesty of England." From that time, to the accession of Edward VI., it continued to be the legal standard of English orthodoxy. The question of ceremonies had to be deferred; and no opportunity arose until the next reign. But the Parliamentary creed still differed from that of Rome, in the main, only on the question of Papal supremacy, and in a modified permission to read the Scriptures in the mother tongue. The latter, however, though presently suspended for a short time, was effectually preparing the way for a wide and true Reformation, which went on, not with outward show, but irrespective of priestly wishes and of legislative enactments: to be revealed in due season.

As to the King himself, if his opinions were slightly modified in some minor particulars—of which grave doubts are entertained—he died a devotee of the Old Faith. He clung to the hope of a General Council that would restore the unity of Christendom; yet without a surrender of his own power. To that he would never consent. Theological hatred has had much to do with the estimates formed of this monarch. His share in the work of the Reformation has been greatly exaggerated. If to be anti-Papal was to be a Protestant, then he was so in an extreme sense. No one would have been so surprised or indignant as himself at a suggestion that he was tainted with heretical doubts on the leading Catholic dogmas. Hooper (1495-1555), afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, and one of the Marian martyrs, writing to Bullinger, about the year 1540, says,—"As far as true religion is concerned, idolatry is nowhere in greater vigour. Our King has destroyed the Pope; but not Popery. The impious Mass; the most shameful celibacy of the clergy; auricular confession; superstituous abstinence from meats; and Purgatory, were never more held by this people in greater esteem than at the present moment." All that can be affirmed—and the fact needs constant reiteration—is that Henry had succeeded in re-establishing the Royal Supremacy in lieu of that of the Pope. The great body of the clergy were elastic

and accommodating on all matters of creed and ceremonial. Like Bunyan's Mr. Facing-both-ways, they readily adapted themselves to the varying politico-religious standards set up by the Legislature, the Council, or the King. They were more or less of Romanists, as circumstances dictated, under Henry VIII.; they became mongrel Protestants during the titular reign of his son; they reverted to a pronounced type of Romanism under Mary; and they described a corresponding arc of ecclesiastical variation under Elizabeth. This series of marvellous gyrations in opinion, during which the theological compass was repeatedly boxed, was performed within a period of less than thirty years.

Such incidents reveal the state of the public mind during a time of transition; but it is historically incorrect and misleading to regard them as the commencement of the English Reformation. In reality, as far as legislative action was concerned, and apart from the spread of private opinion, its advance during the reign of Henry was halting, imperfect, and uncertain. So late as 1545, the gentle and accomplished Anne Askew, one of the Queen's ladies, was severely racked twice, and then burned, for denying the dogma of the Real Presence. Two points only were actually and officially decided, viz., the Supremacy of the King, and the Dissolution of the Monasteries. The Statutes that effected these changes were passed with practical unanimity by a Catholic Legislature. Among the most vigorous defenders of the Supremacy was Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. His work, 'On True Obedience,' was accompanied with a preface by Bonner—subsequently the notorious persecuting Bishop of London (1500–1569)—in which the Pope was assailed with coarse acrimony. A time soon came when Gardiner found it convenient to suppress and repudiate this book. Dr. Barnes, preaching at Paul's Cross in 1540, likened him, by a rough pun upon his name, in the fashion of the time, to a garden-cock that lacked good spurs. Not long afterwards, the preacher was burning in a fire in Smithfield, for alleged heresy.

Very different in tone and temper was a royal mandate, apparently drafted by Cranmer, for "certain godly prayers

and suffrages in our native English tongue" ; to be used alone in parish churches, and in schools for the instruction of youth. This compilation, the rudimentary form of the Book of Common Prayer, included lengthy extracts from the Psalms, a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Decalogue, certain Bidding Prayers, and a Litany, substantially the same with the one now in use, but with the then customary invocations to the Virgin, to apostles, prophets, martyrs, saints, and angels. Provision was also made for private devotion, by adapting ancient forms to changing conditions. Primers, or manuals of primary instruction in religious faith and practice, had been in use in England from the days of Piers Ploughman and Chaucer ; both of whom refer to such works. Maskell mentions eight of them in English, as existing prior to 1400, for the instruction of the laity, and as aids to private devotion. The first Reformed Primer, for use in public service, appeared in 1534; with the royal sanction. George Joye is supposed to have been the translator from the Latin forms ; under the direction of Cranmer. It recognises all the doctrines of the Romish Church, excepting those referring to the Pope. A revised edition appeared in 1535 ; followed by several more, until the famous one of 1545 was issued under royal license, to the exclusion of all others. It contained an English translation of the Hours of Our Lady ; Evensong and Compline ; the Seven Penitential Psalms ; the Fifteen on the Seven Deadly Sins ; the Psalms of Commendation ; the Placebo and Dirige ; the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Creed, and the Ten Commandments. A Litany was also furnished, for singing during church processions ; and it was ordered that a chapter out of the English Bible should be publicly read on Sundays and holy-days, with a brief selection of prayers in English.

Cranmer had also been engaged at the head of a Commission to frame a new code of ecclesiastical laws, in lieu of the abrogated Canons. The work was completed in 1545, but the King neglected to give his sanction, or refused it ; and the new arrangement stood over. Nor were any further steps taken towards a settlement of Church affairs during the brief remainder of his life. He had long been ailing, and was too much enfeebled to

assert himself as of old. Moreover, there were pressing personal questions. Intrigues among some of the great nobles, partly domestic, partly political, and partly religious, led to the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk (1473-1554). He was the head of the old nobility; the leader of the Romanist party; and a man of vast wealth, which gave him an influence wholly disproportionate to his feeble mental powers. He had been the chief antagonist of the New Learning. His son, the Earl of Surrey, notwithstanding his valuable services on the Scottish Border, was beheaded on January 19, 1547, in his thirty-second year, after a hurried mock-trial; ostensibly, for treason, but really for some gasconading boast of royal descent from the Plantagenets. Norfolk would have experienced a similar fate ten days later; but for the opportune decease of the King, on the twenty-eighth.

Henry VIII. has been exhibited in two opposite characters. On the one side he is represented as proud, coarse, sensuous, and brutal; capricious, self-willed, passionate, and tyrannical; ruling his people with a rod of iron; beheading his wives and subjects who displeased him; and overriding Parliament and the courts of law. The usual epithets applied to him are such as Nero; Royal Butcher; "a monster of cruelty"; the English Bluebeard; while the acidulous Peter Heylin (1600-1662) says of him, in a well-known phrase, that he never spared woman in his lust, nor man in his anger. But Heylin is notoriously unveracious; and his unconfirmed assertions are dubious. No contemporary writers, excepting such fierce bigots as Cardinal Pole and the Jesuit Sanders, refer to Henry in this way; nor do the Elizabethan annalists raise a suspicion that he was so regarded. He is uniformly spoken of by sixteenth-century writers as a great, noble, and puissant monarch; his wise and patriotic government is extolled; and his reign is described as glorious. He was "the majestic lord that broke the bonds of Rome;" in Gray's famous phrase. Then came a re-action; lasting for two centuries; followed by modern attempts to rehabilitate him; first, by Sharon Turner, and latterly, in comprehensive and heroic fashion, by J. A. Froude. There is an

Advocatus Diaboli when an addition is to be made to saintship. With the tendency of the human mind to pass from one extreme to another, there has been a rebound from the old received tradition to an opinion exactly the reverse; without always observing the limitations so wisely and justly imposed by his latest apologist. Perhaps the fairest mode of stating the case is that an essential difference in character and policy is traceable before and after the year 1530. A turning-point was occasioned by Wolsey's disgrace. From that time, the King's worst and weakest features are brought into bold and unpleasant relief. For the sake of his fame, his life should have closed prior to the divorce. His subsequent career is stained by harsh, arbitrary, and vindictive actions; which may be explained, though they cannot be excused, still less can they be justified, by the perplexing circumstances of that critical and revolutionary period.

It may appear surprising that an Act should have been passed, in 1540, giving the force of Statutes to Proclamations. It has been supposed, not only by such an apologist as Froude, but also by Green, that Parliament became the slavish instrument of Henry's personal will. Hume calls it a total subversion of the Constitution; which Hallam admits was infringed; but he adds that only a limited power was conferred by the Act. In giving to mere prerogative the apparent sanction of the Legislature, its real power was at the same time asserted and recognised by a declaration that the intent was only the maintenance of certain rules in religious matters; and, further, by a proviso "that no one be injured in real estate, in liberty, or in person; nor the laws and customs of the realm be subverted thereby." The policy pursued after the fall of Wolsey shows how the King was bent upon obtaining Parliamentary endorsement for his most arbitrary measures. Even if the design was to throw a veil of legislative assent over bold aggressions of the monarchy, it had the effect of giving increased importance to the representative assembly; and it paved the way for further assertions of its power in after times. Parliament, and not merely the King, broke away from Rome: subordinated the

Church to the law ; made fresh rules for its government ; defined the national creed and ritual ; dealt with enormous property that had for ages been employed for sacred uses ; settled the succession to the throne ; pronounced on the royal marriages and on the legitimacy of the royal children ; attainted the royal ministers ; and performed various acts such as had never been attempted by the Legislature in any preceding reign. Scrupulous adherence to constitutional forms, and the recognition of ancient rights, helped to secure victory to patriots in subsequent struggles.

CHAPTER XL.

ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENTS.

A.D. 1547-1553.

By the will of Henry VIII., and under the statutory powers conferred upon him, sixteen noblemen and prelates were appointed guardians of the boy-prince, Edward VI. (b. 1537, r. 1547–1553). Among them was his maternal uncle, the Earl of Hertford. He successfully schemed for the office of Protector ; but with a stipulation that he acted only with their advice and consent. Within three weeks, a patent was issued, creating him Duke of Somerset. Several of his colleagues were also ennobled, or advanced in the peerage ; with ample pecuniary endowments out of Church plunder yet remaining. Then began a policy of selfishness, of lust of power, and of intrigue, which brought some of its authors to the scaffold, and placed English liberties in jeopardy. The character and influence of Edward VI. have been vastly overrated. A poetical halo surrounds his reign ; attributable to its having begun and terminated at so early a period. No evidence exists that he was such a paragon of wisdom, talent, and piety as is usually represented. All that is known reveals him as a precocious, sickly, self-willed boy ; spoiled by unwise flattery ; brought up in the

rigid system of regal etiquette then universally prevalent; even his sisters falling on their knees before him; hard and cold in his nature; infected with extreme notions of Tudor absolutism; and a mere puppet in the hands of designing and unscrupulous men.

Somerset is usually credited with zeal for the Reformed Faith; in spite of his crooked policy. He identified himself with the New Learning party, as useful political allies; but the manifest objects were to triumph over his rivals, to rule in his nephew's name, and, above all, to secure as much wealth as possible. His palace in the Strand was built with the materials of despoiled churches. Besides numerous lucrative secular offices, he appropriated the emoluments of six clerical offices, and his son had three hundred pounds a year, equal to four thousand now, assigned out of one of the bishopries, in accordance with a scandalous practice. Other courtiers amassed enormous fortunes by the open sale of offices and honours; including Church livings. Every See was more or less despoiled. The Council Book is crowded with grants which the members made to one another. The balance of power, preserved with difficulty by Henry, between the opposing forces of Reformers and the Old Party, was soon disturbed. After some vacillation, it was decided that crucifixes and rood-lofts were to be replaced by the royal arms; leading to the destruction of nearly all the remaining stained glass and other artistic treasures. It also brought before the people the marked contrast between the ornamental and sensuous accessories of the ancient forms of worship and the meagre ceremonial which replaced it. One of the first things done was to visit the dioceses, with a view, as was said, to the purification of the churches, and to ascertain that laws recently made for abolishing the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, and for establishing the Royal Supremacy, were duly observed.

In many places, through lack of preachers, or their incompetence, the people continued in ignorance. Homilies for Sunday reading from the pulpit, on the chief Christian doctrines and on Christian practice, were therefore compiled by Cranmer; assisted by Ridley, Latimer, and Martin Bucer; and were issued by sole

authority of the Council. They bore strongly against the Sacramental system ; but are now little more than a name. The echo of the sonorous words and militant sentences has died away in the voiceless Past. The work of the Visitors was comparatively easy in London and in the large cities, where the Reformation doctrines had spread. In rural districts, the people were slow to change. They were scandalized by the novel methods of worship set forth in the Thirty-six Injunctions ; reproduced from the two sets of the preceding reign, and given in Wilkins' 'Concilia.' The clergy fomented a spirit of disaffection. What many of these so-called religious guides and teachers were in attainments and habits may be judged from Strype's collection of pungent anecdotes of clerical incapacity in that period ; and from the fact that the Injunctions forbade any clergymen to frequent taverns or ale-houses ; to give themselves to drinking or riot ; or to spend their time idly at dice, cards, tables, or gambling ; as such things caused them to be "much disordered and evil spoken of by the laity." Ignorance, inefficiency, pluralities, and absenteeism abounded. Preaching before Edward VI. in 1552, at Paul's Cross, situate at the North side of the East end of the cathedral, Bernard Gilpin (1517–1583), the devout and revered Apostle of the North, exclaimed,—"The land is full of idle pastors ; and how can it be otherwise when the nobility and patrons of livings put in just who will allow them to take out most profit? There is as much ignorance, superstition, and idolatry as ever ; and, as far as I can foresee, will remain ; for benefices are everywhere so plundered and robbed by patrons that in a little time no one will bring up children to the Church. It is amazing to see how the Universities are diminished within these few years." Latimer is reported as vaguely declaring that their students were fewer by ten thousand, after the alienation of Church lands had left no mercenary attractions in the sacred office.

The Injunctions and Homilies aroused much opposition. Bonner, Bishop of London, and Gardiner, of Winchester, refused obedience, and were committed to prison. The former made submission, and was released ; but deprived of his office. The latter remained in the

Tower, with the Duke of Norfolk and others, till the accession of Mary. The scheme of appropriating the chantries was revived, and carried out. They were buildings, sometimes detached, but more often forming part of a church, where a priest was maintained, at about five pounds per annum, to chant or sing, in a perfunctory way, perpetual Masses for the repose of the souls of benefactors. Speed gives the total number at two thousand two hundred and seventy-four. About a tenth of them were also schools; rendering a useful kind of public service. Only a few were retained; with inadequate endowments. They soon perished from inanition, or were robbed by their custodians. The pretence of creating grammar-schools for the education of youth in virtue and godliness, and the so-called royal foundations of Christ's Hospital, St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas', Bridewell, and King Edward's schools in Birmingham and elsewhere, are instances of vicarious generosity. Ever since, he has had credit for what he never did. A pittance of a few pounds was accorded to the master, out of several hundreds appropriated from a monastery or a collegiate church to which schools had been attached for centuries; as in the cases of York, Canterbury, Durham, Hereford, Southwell, Beverley, Ripon, and many other places. In all of these, as well as in connection with certain Augustinian and Benedictine abbeys, schools existed long before the famous foundation at Winchester by William of Wykeham.

A new electioneering device was resorted to under the Tudors. Both open and occult influences were used to secure in the House of Commons a requisite majority for Court measures. Thus, in 1552, twenty-two members were added; partly by restoring old boroughs, but chiefly by creating new boroughs, of small population, where Crown nominees might be returned without difficulty. A similar course was pursued in 1554 under Mary, and, later, under Elizabeth; at the close of whose reign the membership was four hundred and sixty-seven, against two hundred and ninety-eight in the Reformation Parliament of Henry VIII. The increase was effected by the mere issue of writs under the royal fiat. The year 1680 was the last instance; when Charles II. added

Durham and Newark. No further changes occurred until the Reform Bill of 1832. Another part of the objectionable method was to issue writs to a large number of obscure places in the Duchy of Cornwall, where the Crown influence preponderated; and, at the same time, to send letters-missive, nominating candidates, or directing the venal and obsequious handful of electors to confer with some member of the Privy Council. It is a sentimental and imaginary representation that these Cornish boroughs were ancient and populous towns that have since fallen into decay. They never were so; and their Parliamentary existence was solely due to corrupt motives. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were only six boroughs in that county; all of them old trading towns. Fifty years later, the scattered population returned forty-six members. Devon also sent twenty-two; so that, from the time of the Revolution, these two counties had sixty-eight representatives out of a total of five hundred and nine for England and Wales; or more than one-eighth of the whole number. The City of London elected only four; Southwark and Westminster two each; the counties of Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, and Essex, including the rural portions, also had two; but there were a number of small, decaying, or virtually extinct boroughs that had a like representation in the House of Commons.

Parliament met November 4, 1547; and reversed the Act of Six Articles and other penal Statutes of the late reign. The initial measure dealt with the subject of Reformation Ribaldry, already mentioned, but still troublesome; and enjoined that, in future, the Eucharist was to be, not a solitary act of a priest, performing Eleusinian Mysteries, but an administration in both kinds to any one who devoutly and humbly desired it. This was the first breach in the mystic circle which had for ages surrounded the Mass as with an impregnable rampart. The alleged change of substance in the elements was then, as now, the central doctrine of the Roman Church. It was also believed by the Lutherans; more vaguely, as to the mode, yet none the less positively as to the alleged fact. It is a mere refinement in metaphysics to discriminate between their respective dogmas

of Transubstantiation and Consubstantiation. The latter verbal device, sometimes called Impanation, is a curious and profitless abstraction, though upheld or attacked at that time with all the fierceness of polemics. The opinion of Cranmer was nebulous. At this stage in his career he asserted a Real but Spiritual Presence. In a Catechism issued under his authority—translated by Rowland Taylor, one of his chaplains, and an honoured martyr in the next reign—modified from one then circulating in Germany, the picture in the original, representing a priest placing the consecrated wafer in the mouth of a communicant, was changed for one of Christ eating the Last Supper as a meal with the disciples; and it was set forth that "in the Sacrament we receive the body and blood of Christ spiritually." The existing Catechism is based on one prepared by Poynet, or Ponnet, Bishop of Winchester (1514–1556); revised and enlarged by Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, in 1570. Though never officially promulgated, it was approved by the Lower House of Convocation. After the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, there were further changes, resulting in the present form, which clergymen are enjoined to use by the Rubrics and by the fifty-ninth Canon. Izaak Walton remarks that Nowell, "like an honest angler, made that good, plain, unperplexed Catechism which is printed with our good, old Service-book." He died at the age of ninety-five, in full possession of his faculties; and Walton adds,—"'Tis said that angling and temperance were great causes of those blessings."

From his Protestant Popedom in Geneva, John Calvin wrote a letter of advice to the Protector Somerset, in 1548, as he exhorted the King and Cranmer subsequently. He urged that a body of doctrine should be drawn up; the clergy restrained to a certain form; "fantastical and stubborn people well punished by the sword"; and that "moderation was the especial rock to be avoided." The Reforming prelates were not prepared to follow his lead; any more than that of Luther. Under the guise of a spiritual democracy, and with the purest intentions, Calvin set up an oligarchy that could not work under existing conditions. Born

July 10, 1509, at Noyon, in Picardy, he studied with diligence in the University of Paris, and acquired a mastery of Latin resembling that of his contemporary, Erasmus, or that of Milton in the next century. Invited by the citizens of Geneva, who had thrown off the yoke of the Duke of Savoy, to take up his abode with them, he became the preacher, guide, director, and virtual head of the new Republic; whose institutions were shaped and whose temper was infused in the spirit of the Mosaic law. In modern days, with the tendency of human nature to rebound from one extreme to another, Geneva has gone over to the opposite pole of religious thought; but on its independence, at that time, hung the very existence of Protestantism and liberty. Calvin maintained his habits of close study; preached incessantly; regulated public morals; controlled the magistracy; inspired the laws; wrote letters that grew to be pamphlets; carried on an unwearied and dauntless controversy with theological opponents, often disfigured by the truculence that marked the age; and issued profound doctrinal treatises of portentous length. His Herculean tasks were performed amidst bodily suffering and weakness; for his emaciated frame was tenanted by a soul of restless energy, that wore it out in 1564.

None can question his intellectual greatness; his moral courage; his unswerving rectitude; or his exceptional services to the rising cause of Protestantism, as a revolt against the Paganized Catholicism of the Renaissance. He was its chief theologian and constitutional lawyer. He systematized its doctrine, and organized its ecclesiastical discipline. He "reasoned high of Providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate." He founded a new church polity which did more than all other influences to consolidate the scattered forces of the Reformation, and to impart to them abiding strength. As a religious teacher, writer, and legislator, his fame is unrivalled. He will always be remembered with wondering admiration; if not with love. The spiritual father of John Knox, of William the Silent, of Admiral Coligny, of Oliver Cromwell, and of the long and illustrious line of Puritans, must occupy a foremost place among the leaders of men and the champions of modern democracy

Hard, stern, and rigid ; of inflexible purpose and iron will ; born to command, and absolutely fearless, Calvin was never selfish or petty in his motives and aims. By no means amiable ; a stranger to all emotion ; apparently unmoved by sentiment ; inexorable in his logic ; resolute even to fierceness in what he held to be true and right, he was also transparently sincere, earnest, disinterested, consistent, and of irreproachable life. There was a rugged grandeur in his harshness, and in his severe views of duty. He could be arbitrary, intolerant, and even cruel, when once persuaded of what he believed to be the course of duty ; as the ancient Hebrew prophets were merciless in executing what they believed to be Divine vengeance. None of the mediæval Popes were more despotic than Calvin. He thrust aside or struck down relentlessly all whom he regarded as heretics or as adversaries to the Reformation. His object was to found a theocratic State, resembling that of the Israelites. The result was one of the most crushing ecclesiastical tyrannies to which mankind has ever been subjected. Doctrinal opinion was fixed as in bands of steel. Worship was reduced to bare simplicity from which not a hair's breadth of divergence was allowed. Attendance on elaborate sermons was made compulsory. Church discipline was enforced with a severity alien to the benign spirit and gracious influences of the Founder of Christianity. Dress, ornaments, amusement, business, family and social life, were rigidly controlled. Spies were appointed to report private conversations and to track secret offences against social morality. The Consistory had power to examine all citizens, on the tenderest points of conscience, and without respect of persons. To impugn its proceedings, or the doctrines of Calvin, was punishable with death.

The one dark stain upon his memory is the burning of Servetus, October 27, 1553, for holding what were deemed heretical opinions on the Trinity. It is a painful story ; and furnishes an additional illustration of the innate tendency of men, however good and sincere, to become intolerant and persecuting when they possess the power. The wise Bullinger defended this horrible act ; and the gentle Melanchthon saw in it cause for gratitude.

Calvin himself, scorning to apologize for what he held to be a solemn duty, vindicated the act; objecting only to the mode by which Servetus was put to death. He would have had him strangled; but felt no hesitation that one whom he adjudged a pernicious heretic richly merited a violent end. Even the excellent Zwingli, at Zurich, denounced Anabaptists as deserving of death. Calvin followed his principles to their logical conclusions; never shrinking from their awful consequences, either in this world or the next; yet absolutely free from all suspicion of personal ambition or vindictiveness. His ideal was impossible of attainment by average men, and his methods were arbitrary and harsh; but his aims were lofty and sublime. He regarded life as a solemn sphere of duty and obedience; and as a vestibule leading to one greater and nobler. He sought to shape circumstances to Divine ends, as he apprehended them. The rule of God over man, in things secular and sacred; in politics as in theology; in civil government and in the church; in family and social life, was strenuously asserted, according to the standard which Calvin believed to be eternal, and by means which he claimed the power to enforce to the last extremity. The moral purification of humanity was his ultimate object; to which mere dogma was subordinated. His doctrinal views are expounded at copious length, with unrivalled learning and, with marvellous force, in his 'Institutes of the Christian Religion'; a work that occupied two years of close retirement and study. This famous treatise, first published at Basle, in 1536, when he was only twenty-seven years of age, is a statement and a defence of Reformed doctrines. It strongly upholds, among other points, the Predestinarian tenets of St. Augustine of Hippo. Not until a much later period, however, was the term Calvinism applied to a certain set of dogmatic opinions in theology; and not until the time of Arminius and the Synod of Dort, in 1618 (see Chapter LI.), were those views marked off by polemics from others with which they are generally contrasted. Calvin must not be held responsible for the extravagance of some of his followers; or for the outburst of what was called Antinomianism or Hyper-Calvinism in the eighteenth century; or for all

the glosses that have been placed upon his statements. With the tendency of the human mind to hero-worship, and to bow slavishly to the authority of genius in matters of opinion, many have felt as regards Calvin what Cicero said,—"I had rather be wrong with Plato than think aright with the others."

The antagonism expressed by what are commonly understood as the Calvinistic and Arminian systems of theology is as old as the history of Christian doctrine. Augustine anticipated Calvin in almost every point; while Pelagius and the Eastern Fathers, such as Chrysostom, held views which, on the whole, are consonant with the opposite school. Similar divergence has been presented in the Roman Church, by the Jansenists and the Jesuits; in the Church of England, by the Anglican and Evangelical schools: and among Protestant Nonconformists for more than two hundred years. Predestination and Irresistible Grace are the key-notes of Calvinism; with Original Sin, Particular Redemption, and the Perseverance of Saints. But the first is not peculiar to Calvinism; and the others are mere corollaries. Its revival was one of the longest strides that mankind ever took towards personal religious freedom. The individual was placed alone before his God, and made to realize a profound and overwhelming sense of responsibility. He was taught that salvation could not be secured by priestly ritual; by any human intermediary, or by anything extraneous, but only through Divine grace working in the soul. In view of the stern duties of life, and of what was deemed the awful Future, distinctions of titular rank vanished. Prince and peasant, the learned and the simple, the moral and the reprobate, were alike helpless before God, and suppliants for His mercy. Thus the central truth in Calvinism, apart from mere doctrinal nomenclature, which is only the external form and dress, is the Divine lordship over each man, and his sense of personal duty and accountability. This was a conception of religion, whatever its defects, or exaggerations, or lack of counterpoise, fitted to inspire men who were called upon to do battle for political freedom. It made itself felt as a power during the long Puritan struggle. In such a church, logically considered, there

was no room for prelacy or absolutism. The tendency was to train free men in one of the most effective schools that has ever existed for developing local self-government, true liberty, and the highest patriotism.

Cranmer's backwardness to follow implicitly either of the great Continental Reformers, Calvin or Luther, but with some trend towards the latter, aroused much censure from the extreme section of his own party. Such of them as had returned from their exile in Germany and Switzerland renounced, as Fuller observes, "all ceremonies practised by the Papists; conceiving that such ought not only to be clipped with shears, but to be shaved with a razor; yea, all the stumps thereof to be plucked out." Cranmer was drawn into a controversy with Gardiner, who, from his prison in the Tower, issued a tractate, surreptitiously published in France, on what he regarded as the true Catholic Faith. This was in reply to one by the Archbishop, who said he was moved by his office, duty, and place to "cut down the error of the Popish doctrine of Transubstantiation, and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest for the salvation of the quick and the dead" Thus he had advanced considerably beyond his former theological position; though he afterwards receded for a time. Latimer (1472–1555), who declined to resume his bishopric, cared but little for doctrinal questions and speculative opinions, but was solicitous for a reformation in life and manners. He devoted himself to the work of preaching, and dealt in trenchant fashion with the vital questions then agitating men's minds. His downright and vigorous style was as necessary in that age as it would be ridiculous now.

During the next six years and a half, Cranmer was chiefly occupied in ecclesiastical legislation. The burning question was a proposed Act of Uniformity; coupled with a new Service Book. Parliament re-assembled, November 24, 1548, to sanction changes in creed and ritual which he was ready to submit; the result of his labours with a committee of divines. He had collected opinions from all parts of Europe, "to build up," as he said, "a body of doctrine which should be agreeable to Scripture." Extreme views on either side balanced and neutralized each other. The result was the first imperfect

draft of the Book of Common Prayer. Owing to changed conditions, the ancient formularies had become unsuitable. There had been no liturgical revision since that accomplished in the eleventh century by Pope Gregory VII. One was attempted in 1535 by Cardinal Quignon, under a warrant from Clement VII., but nothing came of it; and the final recension of the Breviary was left for the Council of Trent. England took up the matter for herself. Instead of the prayers of a separate order of men, or the solitary recitation by a priest, expressed in a dead language, there was to be henceforth common and audible prayer in the native tongue. The laity were called up into the chancel; and the minister was placed on a level with the congregation. Nothing is known of the details of the work of preparing the New Liturgy. The records have perished. For the stately form in which it is presented posterity is mainly indebted to Cranmer himself. He translated portions of the original into the majestic English prose of which he was a master; and his controlling influence is apparent throughout the book; which is tinctured with the Lutheranism of the Nuremberg Liturgy of Melanchthon and Bucer.

In order to explain its inherent contradictions, it is needful to remember that the compilation was the product of unsettled times, and of men of diverse opinions and tastes. It cannot, therefore, be expected to furnish an example of logical sequence or of doctrinal consistency. It is a piece of liturgical mosaic, in which the shapes and colours are not conducive to a symmetrical and harmonious whole. Hoary fragments from the Past are placed beside startling novelties of the Present. The old idea of a sacrificing priest is set aside, in one sense; while, in another, it is retained. This has been the root-cause of most of the trouble and strife in the Church of England. Its theology is largely taken from St. Augustine; yet prominence is given to the Lutheran form of the doctrine of Justification by Faith. Other points of doctrine are stated so guardedly, and are restricted by such explanations, as to avoid the extremes both of Calvinism and Arminianism. Cranmer's avowed aim was to discover a *Via Media*, and to make the best pos-

sible working arrangement between contending parties. Some laud him for holding to a middle course between ultra-Romanism and ultra-Protestantism; by others he is denounced as the author of a schism; while others, again, ascribe to him views on doctrine and polity which are opposed to the whole tenor of his life. The final result, as expressed in the rhetorical phrase of Lord Chatham, was a Calvinist Creed, a Popish Liturgy, and an Arminian clergy.

Hallam remarks,—"It was always held out by our Church, when the object was conciliation, that the Liturgy was essentially the same with the Mass-Book." To state the matter in a less extreme form, the Prayer Book was the outgrowth of successive ages. Substantially, and with such modifications as were required to meet the transitional theology, it is a condensed reproduction, in English, of the Sarum Use, dating from the latter part of the eleventh century, though afterwards modified; and of other Latin service books compiled centuries before, and which embodied Collects and Suffrages of Post-Apostolic origin, the heritage of the Universal Church. Various Uses had prevailed in different dioceses. The Calendar was crowded with local saints; and varying observances were permitted; but this Use had been gradually accepted throughout England for a lengthened period. The objects of the compilers of the First Prayer Book are stated in the Preface to be that the whole realm should have but one Use in Divine Service; the rubrical directions be simplified; the Psalms be all repeated in their order; that the Lessons should include the whole Bible, or the greater part thereof, in a continuous course; that the reading of the chapters should not be interrupted by Anthems, Responds, and Invitatories; that nothing should be read but "the very pure Word of God, the Holy Scriptures, or that which is evidently grounded on the same"; and that all should be in the English tongue. Of the singular features of the change, the most singular was that the official opinion of Convocation was asked, if at all, which seems doubtful, only as a matter of form. This neglect or ignoring of what was supposed to be the High Court of the Church became habitual. Parliament

discussed for two months what should be the national belief; what the clergy should teach; where they should stand; in what official garb they should be attired; and the precise nature of the histrionic ceremonies they were to perform. Some minor questions were first settled. The marriage of priests was permitted; though not recommended. Fasting was enjoined; chiefly as a means to subdue the body, and also because of benefit to the fishing trade! Twenty years later, a similar attempt was made to revive the fisheries by Act of Parliament. It recommended godly abstinence as a means to virtue; made eating meat on Fridays and Saturdays a misdemeanour; and appointed Wednesday as a half fast-day. The Puritan House of Commons laughed at this, as an effort "to bring back Popish mummeries." To please the Protestants, a clause was inserted, that the Bill was meant for the increase of fishermen and mariners; not for superstition in the use of meats. All was of no avail. The Bill was called, in mockery, Cecil's Fast.

The Prayer Book was incorporated, in January, 1549, with an Act of Uniformity; after a fierce debate of several days over the inscrutable mystery of the Real Presence. Other Service Books were prohibited. Refusal to use the new one entailed heavy penalties. Murmurs, disaffection, and open resistance broke out in various places. A restoration of the Mass and of the old familiar usages was demanded. Other causes operated; such as debasement of the coinage, the change in money value partly induced thereby, and partly owing to the glut of the precious metals from Spanish America into Europe; the high prices of the necessaries of life, which royal edicts tried in vain to control; lack of employment; an outbreak of Sweating Sickness; and, especially, the rack rents extorted by the new owners of abbey lands; the substitution of pasturage for tillage over a wide area; and the reckless enclosure of commons which had gone on for many years. The risings were sternly suppressed by the aid of Continental mercenaries. Martial law, pillage, and destruction followed. Terrible stories of the vengeance exacted were told for generations. The outbreaks led to the creation of the office of Lord-Lieutenant for each of the counties of England; the first commissions

being dated July 24, 1549. The earlier function of Custos Rotulorum is usually joined to the office. Somerset's Protectorate came to an end in October, 1549; mainly through disputes with his rival, the Earl of Warwick, afterwards created Duke of Northumberland. Each was implicated in plots as to the succession, for Edward was sickly and feeble; and each was guilty of treachery and perjury, so that there is little to choose between them. In January, 1552, Somerset was beheaded, on charges of felony and treason; a doom to which he had sent his own brother three years before.

The aimings after the impossible, represented by the Act of Uniformity of 1549, utterly failed; as was inevitable, in the nature of things. By an extraordinary *non sequitur*, legislation was made more stringent. Another committee of divines was appointed, with Cranmer at their head, to make a further revision. Once more, Convocation was not consulted; but the assistance of learned German and Swiss Reformers was obtained, including Peter Martyr, Paul Fagius, and Martin Bucer; the first of whom was settled in Oxford, and the others in Cambridge. All of them, with Bernardine Ochinus, Peter Alexander, John Alasco of Poland, and others, had found a welcome in the Archbishop's palace at Lambeth. Bucer died, February 28, 1551, while the revision was proceeding. Melanchthon was formally appointed to succeed him as professor of divinity at Cambridge; but his duties in Germany prevented his acceptance. It was declared that the First Prayer Book contained nothing but what was agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church; and that any doubts had proceeded rather from "the curiosity of the minister and mistakers than of any other worthy cause." Some important alterations were made, in a more pronounced Protestant sense. Besides sundry changes in ritual and in phraseology, the chief alterations referred to the Eucharist. In the 1549 Book the Communion Service was so framed as to be consistent with a belief in a Real Presence; substantial and corporeal. The changes now made fostered a belief that the consecrated elements had no new virtues imparted, and that Christ was present in the Eucharist in no other manner than He is ever present to the faithful.

The evident design was, to reject not only the central doctrine of the Romish Church, but its modified form as held by Luther; and to substitute the tenets of Calvin and Zwingli. The Black Rubric was inserted, by Proclamation, to explain that nothing of superstition was implied by a kneeling attitude when receiving the Communion. John Knox, then staying in London, was strongly opposed to the practice. The second Act of Uniformity, with the Revised Prayer Book, passed the Legislature, April 6, 1552; to come into force on the first of November. The young King never recovered from an attack of smallpox, which was too much for his feeble constitution; and he died on the sixth of July. It is uncertain whether the new book came into general use; but it formed a basis for future revisions. The conflicting directions between it and the First Book have been a prolific source of disputes in modern times, in attempts to settle vexed questions of doctrine and ritual. Another Statute imposed imprisonment on such as neglected or refused to attend Church: the earliest of a long series of penal enactments of the kind; all ending in disastrous failure. A Commission was appointed to search for recusants and heretics. Several Anabaptists were made to bear a fagot, and do penance. At least two persons, Joan of Kent, and von Paris, a Dutchman, were burned, for denying the Divinity of Christ. No one then, or for a long subsequent period, thought of tolerating diversity in religious belief, or in modes of worship. The oft-told story, that Cranmer importuned Edward VI. to sign the warrant for the execution of Joan, and that the boy-king did so with tears and an earnest protest, is one of the many myths that have long passed current. Sentiment both colours and makes history.

Grave troubles agitated the inchoate hierarchy. More than half the prelates favoured the old order of things, and resisted every change. Others would have advanced at a rapid pace, which Cranmer and the Middle Party deemed perilous. The country was not prepared, as events showed, for such sweeping revolutions, that seemed to shake the foundations of faith and morals, and shocked prejudices and traditions, which are often stronger than principles. Nicholas Ridley (1500–1555) had been

appointed Bishop of London, on Bonner's removal, and at once proceeded to carry out the new Ordinal. In conformity therewith, he directed that "the Lord's board should be set up after the form of an honest table, decently covered; rather than after that of an altar." The design was to mark unmistakably the change from the Mass to the Communion. He also became involved in what was known as the Vestment Controversy with John Hooper (1495–1555); who was offered the See of Gloucester; much against his wish. He scrupled about episcopal dress and ceremonies of consecration, which he ridiculed as "the livery of the harlot of Babylon," and as "Aaronic and Popish"; and said "he would not be made a magpie of." For nine months did the contest wage. Cranmer was drawn into it; and the Council had to intervene. Hooper became more resolute in his opposition; then dogged; and, at length, defiant and recalcitrant. For a short time he was committed to the Fleet Prison. This strange method of persuading a man to become a bishop seems to have succeeded; for, in March, 1551, his scruples were overcome, and he was duly consecrated according to the prescribed forms, and wore the objectionable habiliments; or most of them. Four years later, he made ample amends by his testimony unto death; for he was one of the martyrs in the following reign; being burned at Gloucester, February 9, 1555, after eighteen months' confinement in prison. The effect of the disputes, and of other wranglings among the Reformers, was most unfortunate for the cause they had at heart. To it may be traced the bitter contentions which led to so much trouble during the reign of Elizabeth. It was similar to the Adiaphoristic Controversy, so called because the things were admittedly indifferent, which caused a division in the Lutheran party in Germany in 1548; partly on the subject of vestments, and also on the questions as to whether the cup should be allowed to the laity, and marriage to the clergy.

Cranmer hoped to unite all the Reformed Churches; each retaining its own creeds and formularies. He did not object to the Seven Sacraments; though five of them could only be so called in an accommodated sense. His language on the Eucharist continued to be per-

plexing, vague, and contradictory; and there is no escape from the plain language of the Catechism,—"The body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." Statements equally strong are frequent in his writings; and yet he says they do not mean what they appear to mean, and in no sense convey the doctrine of the Real Presence. He appeals to the Fathers; as does Bishop Ridley, whose theology is almost identical: but Latimer bluntly said that if these early doctors had known to what use their language was to be applied, they would not have written as they did. Hooper also taught that the Fathers have no authority, save as they preach truth; and he held episcopal succession in light esteem. He had much of the decided and uncompromising spirit of Tyndale. Cranmer wished the Reformed service to approximate so nearly to the old ritual that the ignorant multitude might be unconscious of the change; a desire in which neither Hooper nor Latimer shared. All three were moderate Calvinists; whereas John Bradford, one of the royal chaplains and licensed preachers, and one of the early Marian martyrs, was somewhat extreme; but even he believed the body of Christ to be "present corporally unto faith" in the Sacrament. The philosophic and ever-memorable John Hales of Eton (1584–1650), writing a generation or two later, traces "the crude speeches of the learned of the Reformed party" to their manifest solecism of the presence of a body spiritually, when they told the divines of the Church of Rome that they acknowledged a presence, but were ignorant of the manner. It originated with Martin Bucer, who was unreasonably afraid of separating too far from Rome.

Another subject to which Cranmer devoted much time, attention, and labour, as the head of a Commission of thirty-two members, was the improvement of the Canon Law. The result is seen in the learned, elaborate, but inconsistent and unsatisfactory 'Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum'; a magnificent conception, but there was no Pygmalion to ensure that life was breathed into it. The death of Edward VI. put a stop, after many delays and difficulties, to this further attempt at ecclesiastical legislation. The book prepared with such pains

was not confirmed or promulgated ; and all Cranmer's toil and anxiety went for nothing. A like fate befell his attempt to embody the doctrines of the Church. He had submitted to Convocation, in 1536, a draft of nine Articles. Fifteen years later, a Royal Commission expanded them to forty-two ; some, strongly Calvinistic in tone, and others strongly Lutheran. The royal mandate compelling the clergy to subscribe is dated only a fortnight before Edward's death. The matter dropped until Elizabeth's reign. One noteworthy circumstance is that Cranmer did not maintain the Divine Right of Episcopacy ; enforced in the next generation by his successors. His whole line of policy appears strange ; but his conceptions of the spiritual nature of the Church were dim. The avowed but fruitless purpose of his Articles was "for the avoiding of controversy in opinions, and the establishment of a godly concord in certain matters of religion." The scheme was revived under Elizabeth ; with similar results. Ever since, it has proved impossible to crystallize speculative belief by the most elaborate, careful, and rigid forms of words ; or to ensure even outward uniformity by the most solemn, searching, and emphatic terms of clerical subscription that legal ingenuity can devise.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE MARTYR ROLL.

A.D. 1553–1558.

When Northumberland triumphed over Somerset, he attained to power that was nearly absolute. He aimed yet higher ; hoping to secure for his own family the succession to the throne ; but he lost his balance, and brought upon himself, and entailed upon the innocent, swift and utter ruin. His son, Lord Guilford Dudley, was married to Lady Jane Grey ; daughter of Lord Dorset. Her mother was Henry the Eighth's niece. It was intended to force the Crown upon the guileless Lady

Jane; so that, through her, Northumberland might wield supreme authority. During his long illness, Edward VI. was easily persuaded, on the casuistic ground that his half-sisters—for whom he had no love—were illegitimate, and, in defiance of the Succession Statute of 1544, that he had the power to override the Act and to bequeath the Crown. The judges, with one exception, were coerced into drawing up the requisite document in favour of his cousin, the Lady Jane. Cranmer was reluctantly compelled to sign it; with other members of the Council. Ridley preached a sermon to order at Paul's Cross, denouncing Mary; for which he was promptly arrested after her accession. The insensate and illegal attempt to prevent this recoiled upon its authors. They committed the unaccountable blunder of not securing the two Princesses before the death of their brother. This occurred on July 6, 1553; and immediately afterwards, Mary (b. 1516, r. 1553–1558) went into Norfolk, among her partisans, the Howards; leaders of the Old Learning party. She was proclaimed in Norwich as Queen. Lady Jane Grey yielded with extreme unwillingness to the representations of her ambitious relatives; and she, too, was proclaimed in London. Her barren honours lasted for only nine days; if, indeed, they can be said to have existed. There was little response on the part of the nobles and the leading clergy; and no popular enthusiasm.

Northumberland's designs were known. The foreign troops in his pay could not be relied upon. His colleagues in the Council deserted him, and made their peace with Mary. Northumberland and others were arrested. The Tower was crowded with prisoners. As they entered the grim fortress, the old Duke of Norfolk, Bishop Gardiner, and their adherents came forth from their long durance. The Council was remodelled. Gardiner was appointed Chancellor, and restored to his diocese of Winchester. Bonner, Tonstall—the revenues of whose rich See of Durham had been appropriated by Northumberland—and other deprived bishops were also reinstated. Requiems and the Mass for the Dead were sung for the late King in the chapel within the Tower, by express command of the Queen, and in her presence,

at the very time that the actual interment was being conducted in the revised form by Cranmer in Westminster Abbey. Bonner had the old ritual restored in St. Paul's. His example was generally copied. The Reforming prelates, to the number of fifteen, and other prominent divines of their party, were suspended or arrested. Among them were Latimer, Hooper, Barlow, and Coverdale. Others fled to Strasburg, Frankfort, Geneva, Zurich, and elsewhere on the Continent. Unhappily, the exiles, especially those who took up their abode in Frankfort, were divided in opinion respecting matters of ritual, vestments, and, to a limited extent, on questions of doctrine. John Knox and William Whittingham, afterwards Dean of Durham, compiled Service Books, which met with the usual fate of endeavours to please all parties. Calvin sent from Geneva various suggestions; but no final settlement could be reached. A war of pamphlets broke out; acrimonious in tone, and vulgar in style. Grave troubles sprang out of these unfortunate disputes; not only after the return of the exiles on the accession of Elizabeth, by the local theological influences which made themselves felt during the prolonged Puritan struggle, but throughout the subsequent history of the Church of England; and especially in the conflict of the Civil War.

Thus the baseless ecclesiastical system raised during the nominal reign of Edward VI. collapsed like a house of cards. The indifferent and the time-serving preponderated. Compliant pastors led back obedient flocks to the ancient observances. There was little need to change opinion and belief; which had remained as of old, in most cases. Vestments, chalices, Holy Roods, relics, images, breviaries, and other paraphernalia, or such as had escaped in the struggle for plunder, were revived in all their former glory in many places, without waiting for legislative action. Mary hoped not only to restore the condition of things as left by her father, but to reverse the policy of his reign, so far as regarded the quarrel with Rome. It was a vigorous attempt at retrogression; and was made for six years with fanatical perseverance; until the insane cruelty of the bigots recoiled upon themselves. Within six weeks of

Edward's death, Northumberland and some of his associates were executed for high treason. Lady Jane Grey, with her husband, her brother, and her uncle, remained in the Tower through the Winter; but the occurrence of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Rebellion, in 1554, ostensibly against the Queen's Spanish marriage, and which all but succeeded, was made the pretext for beheading them. Lady Jane met her fate with dignity. She was only seventeen. All appeals to the Queen to spare her were in vain. Mary was as stony as Medusa. An attempt was made to implicate Princess Elizabeth; but such was the popular feeling that extreme measures could not be taken; although her position during the reign was always difficult, and sometimes critical.

Secret negotiations were at once commenced with Rome, to remove the Interdict; to effect a reconciliation; and to bring about the re-conversion of England. The first Parliament met in October, 1553. Its temper was shown by an immediate avowal that the lay owners of ecclesiastical lands must not be molested. No Cerberus could be more watchful or threatening than were these spoliators of Church property over their ill-gotten gains. Nor would the Commons agree to a restoration of the Papal supremacy in its old form. The Prayer Book was not set aside until after a heated debate of six days; and with a minority of one-third of the Commons against the change. Many conspicuous members of recent Parliaments, who had taken a leading part in the Reformation, were absent; the Council having ordered the sheriffs to prevent their return. With these important exceptions, the ancient order of things was re-established. Preaching was peremptorily stopped; except by special license from Gardiner. The work of ecclesiastical reaction is traceable in successive Statutes. Various Acts of the two preceding reigns were repealed; such as the one declaring the invalidity of the marriage of Henry and Katharine; all the new treasons and felonies created; both Acts of Uniformity; those allowing of priests' marriages; those abolishing certain festivals and fasts; all that touched religion, and such as had been made since 1529 against Rome and in favour of the national independence and the Royal Supremacy.

The English form of public worship was to cease on the twentieth of December. Yet this Parliament, and those which followed it, proved difficult to manage. Extensive bribery had to be resorted to in the Commons, with money supplied by Charles V.

The Emperor had been his cousin Mary's chief adviser for years, through his ambassador, Renard ; a fanatic and a bigot. Charles suggested caution in making changes ; and a conciliatory spirit. At the same time he was wishful, as a matter of family policy and aggrandizement, that she should marry his son, Philip of Spain (1527–1598). She was willing, and, indeed, eager for the match. When it was concluded, the unseemly spectacle was seen of a careworn, middle-aged woman displaying the foolish fancies and jealousies of a young girl. By this crafty scheme it was hoped to bring nearly the whole of Western Europe under the sway of one royal house. Both Lords and Commons opposed the match ; which was highly unpopular in the country. It was feared, not without reason, that England would become a mere Spanish province, and that the union would be disastrous to commerce and to liberty. Only after stringent conditions had been imposed, so as to guard against all possible risks, did they assent. Philip himself was indifferent ; if not reluctant or opposed to the scheme. He was already a widower, though only twenty-seven ; and nearly eleven years younger than his intended bride ; but in spirit and bearing, as well as in physique and in craft, he was an old man. He yielded at last to his father's wishes, but took no pains to conceal his dislike ; and protested against the rigorous conditions imposed for the safety of England. Married on July 20, 1554, most of his time, after the abdication of his father in October of the following year, was passed in Spain ; planning the affairs of his vast dominions, the assassination of rivals, the extirpation of heresy, the election of Popes devoted to his interests, and other schemes, over which he brooded and toiled, like the web of a gigantic spider. He left England in August, 1555, and did not return until March, 1557, when he stayed four months, and left his wife for ever. His indifference and weariness did not extend to the political affairs of the country ; for

he kept himself informed of all that happened. He would have married Elizabeth after her sister's death, from politic motives. She rejected his suit with disdain, and gave him an added impulse of revenge.

In issuing writs for the second Parliament, of November, 1554, circular letters were also sent out, stating that whatever false reports might have been spread, no alteration was intended of any man's possessions. It meant that monastic spoil was to remain in the hands of its appropriators. That was a settled thing. Pains were taken to secure a docile Legislature. It is known as the Reconciliation Parliament; because of the formal peace that was made with Rome. It was thought that the palmy days of clerical rule were to return. Sixteen more Acts of the two former reigns were rescinded. The old Acts for suppressing heresy were revived, with the atrocious system of the Consistorial Courts. To their honour it is recorded that thirty-seven members of the House of Commons, whose names Coke gives in his 'Institutes,' seceded, after vainly opposing these retrograde measures. They were punished in the Star Chamber by heavy fines and imprisonment. On November 27, Cardinal Pole, whose Attainder had been reversed, so that he might return to England, addressed Parliament in a lengthy speech. He vindicated the Pope; lauded the Queen; and said "that he had come, after the late unhappy action, to open to the nation the doors of the Kingdom of Heaven." Two days later, the formal act of reconciliation was performed, amidst much pomp. He gave absolution; and the Te Deum was sung. A similar Act of assoiling was performed for the clergy in Convocation. There were great rejoicings in Rome when the news arrived. It was conveniently ignored that the triumph was dearly purchased by consenting to forego all claims to the restitution of ecclesiastical property. Pole found it needful to agree to this.

Nor would the Legislature sanction any change in the succession to the throne. The pretended illegitimacy of Elizabeth had never been set aside by Rome. Her mother's marriage was still regarded there as null and void. But the combined efforts of the Queen and of

Pole failed to induce the two Houses even to consider the project of nullifying the former arrangement. The temper of the nation was equally resolute. All that could be done, therefore, was to wait and hope. These proceedings mark the flood-tide of ecclesiastical ascendancy. It remained at this point until the end of the reign. Then the ebb set in; never more to be reversed in the national history. During those four years, scenes recalling the Diocletian persecution in the fourth century occurred in many English counties; earning for Queen Mary the epithet of Bloody. She is commonly represented as Hecate; and is "damned to everlasting fame" in a sense far more true than the one meant by Alexander Pope. It was not to be expected that she would forget the annoyance endured by her during Edward's reign, because she would have Mass performed in her own house. From all that is known she was not naturally harsh, cruel, or malignant. Severely addicted to a sterile and slavish superstition; herself wholly Spanish on her mother's side, but with her father's Tudor will; ignorant of the temper of the people and of the trend of events; credulous and a zealot, she surrendered herself to those who had their own ends to serve in again reducing England to spiritual subjection. As time went on, and her hopes of children were disappointed, she regarded her barrenness as a token of the Divine displeasure for her lukewarmness in extirpating heresy; and she consented to more rigorous measures. Among the State Papers in the Record Office is a pathetic series of eleven letters, signed by her, and addressed, but never despatched, to the Pope, to the Emperor, and other European monarchs, announcing her accouchement; the date of the hoped-for birth, and the sex of the child being left blank. But repeated conditions of the kind proved to be dropsy. Maternal disappointments, and every fit of remorse, were followed by renewed persecution. To deny the Papal authority or the dogma of Transubstantiation sufficed to send men or women to the stake. There was a long procession of victims along what might have been a *Via Dolorosa;* only that their sublime faith and heroism transmuted it into a triumphal march.

Mary, however, was a pliant tool in the hands of such

men as Pole, Gardiner, Bonner, and her husband. This by no means absolves her from guilt and reproach ; but the meed of censure dealt out to the principal actors must be regulated by strict justice. In the chief degree, Philip of Spain is responsible for the fiery persecution. He was a gloomy, saturnine bigot ; hating Protestantism with an intensity that was afterwards shown in the Spanish Fury in the Netherlands. His hope was to crush by terror the Protestant sentiment in England. The outburst of demoniac cruelty is consentaneous with his marriage. He was even charged with instigating or conniving at the murder of his son, Don Carlos, in 1568, for opposing his tyranny and persecution in the Low Countries. It is impossible to look back upon these scenes without a shudder. Yet they were part of the moral education of England ; a painful discipline through which she passed towards a nobler intellectual and religious life. The old spirit of passionate independence, amounting to a proud defiance of tyranny, was revived. Diabolical cruelty, and the terrors of a fiery death, only strengthened it. People saw their relatives and friends bound to a stake with an iron chain ; praying with clasped hands, and sometimes singing Psalms, amidst the smoke, while the fierce flames blackened the skin and destroyed the flesh ; realizing the terrible images of Dante, or those in which Blaise Pascal afterwards figured the doom of man, or in which Voltaire described the great earthquake of Lisbon, in November, 1755. Such sights could never be forgotten, nor the last words of the sufferers ; whose endurance was far more heroic than the Gymnosophists who aroused the wondering admiration of Alexander.

From the various prisons where they had been incarcerated for months, Bishops Hooper and Ferrars, with Bradford, Philpot, Taylor, and others, sent forth, singly, or in concert, protests against the action taken ; and challenges to dispute the grave points at issue. These were disregarded, amidst the preparations of the persecutors. Ere the year 1555 was five weeks old, John Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, Tyndale's friend and associate, and the proto-martyr of the reign, rejecting, like the others, offers of pardon on recantation, and after the ludicrous forms of degrading from the priesthood had

been gone through, ascended to Heaven in his fiery chariot; to be followed, in the short space of forty-five months, by nearly three hundred more. Some suffered under circumstances of aggravated cruelty. Within a week of Rogers' death, Lawrence Saunders was sent from London to be burned at Coventry; Rowland Taylor at Hadleigh; and Bishop Hooper in Gloucester, his cathedral city. There he suffered on the ninth of February; his noble prayer, that in the fire he might not break the rules of patience, being put to the test when the wood, being green, would not burn; so that the fire had to be thrice renewed, and his nether extremities were charred before a vital part was reached by the flames. A bladder of gunpowder, designed to shorten his sufferings, exploded without effect; and one arm dropped off ere the end came in three-quarters of an hour. The story of the noble army of martyrs is narrated with fulness of detail by John Foxe (1517–1587), in the 'History of the Acts and Monuments of the Church'; commonly known as the 'Book of Martyrs.' It was first published in Latin, in 1559, and in English four years later; with a Dedication to Queen Elizabeth. It was then ordered to be placed in churches for public perusal; and it formed, with the Bible, and with Bishop Jewel's 'Apology,' the chief reading matter for the common people, until the appearance of Bunyan's great allegory. Foxe's accuracy was savagely impugned at the time, and a fierce controversy has waged over his book ever since. Its substantial truth remains unshaken; allowing for some prejudices, exaggerations, and suppressions; which are corrected in Dr. S. R. Maitland's 'Essays on the Reformation.' Though Foxe's chronology is sometimes defective, and though, as was inevitable, among such voluminous particulars, a few of the statements are open to doubt or require modifying, the general scope and character of the work are beyond all question.

The outbreaks of persecution were sporadic; not continuous. Of the total number of two hundred and ninety-six who were burned, seventy-four perished in 1555; eighty-eight and seventy-six in the two following years; and forty-one in 1558. The largest number,

forty-three, were burned in Smithfield ; the spot being now marked by a suitable record. There were only two fewer in Canterbury, where Pole held chief sway as Cardinal-Archbishop. Colchester follows, with twenty-three ; Stratford, Lewes, and Chichester, with seventeen each ; Bury St. Edmunds, eleven ; Norwich, eight ; Maidstone, seven. The remainder suffered death in various places. Seven of the dioceses are painfully conspicuous : Chichester, Coventry and Lichfield, Norwich, Salisbury, and, above all, London and Canterbury. These were the districts in which Lollardism had chiefly spread. Besides Cranmer and four bishops, twenty-one clergymen were among the victims of death by burning ; also eight gentlemen ; eighty-four tradesmen ; one hundred handicraftsmen, labourers, and servants ; twenty widows ; twenty-six wives, and nine maidens. The remainder are not specified ; but one cripple and four blind persons are included in the list. An unknown number perished in prison, by starvation, noisome disease, or torture, which was freely applied. Their families were ruined, and their kindred and friends impoverished. A few recanted ; only to linger out a life of shame and remorse ; and to die broken-hearted. The bodies of the learned Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius were disinterred at Cambridge, as were the remains of the wife of Peter Martyr at Oxford, by the orders of Pole, and were burned, with a heap of Bibles, Prayer Books, and Protestant Primers.

Cranmer had been urged by his friends to fly, while the opportunity offered. His conduct in the divorce proceedings rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to Mary ; aggravated by the part he had taken in the attempt to hinder her accession. He refused to escape ; saying that if he had committed treason, or any civil crime, he might be deemed likely to abscond ; but that as he, more than any other man, had been the instrument in effecting the changes in religion, he would remain. He may have thought it impossible that extreme measures would be taken against one in his high position ; a member of the Privy Council ; a wearer of the Pallium ; and occupying the chair of St. Augustine and St. Thomas. When it was rumoured that the Mass had been restored in Canterbury Cathedral by his orders, and that he had offered to

sing a Requiem for the late King, he wrote an open letter to Cecil, indignantly denying the statements. He challenged a disputation in favour of the Communion Service in the Book of Common Prayer, as Scriptural; and against the Mass, as containing "many horrible blasphemies." He also offered to maintain that the doctrine and ritual as set forth in the Act of Uniformity were the same as those used in the Church fifteen hundred years before. The result was a committal of the Archbishop to the Tower on September 14, 1553, where Ridley, Latimer, and others were already confined. He was tried in November, at the Guildhall, and found guilty on a charge of high treason, in common with those implicated in the matter of Lady Jane Grey.

As he had received investiture from Rome, he could not be condemned by a secular tribunal, before degradation by competent ecclesiastical authority. He was therefore confined in the Tower during the Winter. In the following March, he was removed to Oxford, with Ridley and Latimer. For four days they underwent separately an informal trial in the guise of a disputation before a committee of clerical opponents. They were not permitted to confer, and were denied the use of books. The design must have been to involve them in theological and metaphysical subtleties, and so to ensure their condemnation as heretics. After this, they were kept in durance for nineteen months in Oxford, in separate prisons; and were subjected to much indignity and hardship. In October, 1555, Ridley and Latimer, still refusing to recant, or to acknowledge the Papal authority, were condemned, degraded from the episcopal and priestly offices, and burned at one stake in front of Balliol College, Oxford. The site is marked by the Martyrs' Memorial; erected in 1841. Bishop Ferrars, of St. David's, had been burned in Carmarthen, in March. Latimer's bold and cheery words, uttered just as the fire was about to be applied, are memorable and classical:—"Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

Cranmer was again examined before a Commission appointed by Pole; whose authority as Legate he

steadfastly refused to own; stigmatizing it as usurped and illegal. Nor would he pay any outward marks of respect to the Sub-delegate. He was comprehensively charged with having married a wife, contrary to the Canons; with having written heretical books; with violating his consecration oaths; with having lent himself to Henry's divorce; with perjury, schism, apostasy, and treason. A Papal decree, condemning him in his absence as a notorious heretic, was received in London early in February, 1556. On the fourteenth, he was brought to Christ Church, Oxford, to be deprived, degraded from all his high ecclesiastical functions, excommunicated, and delivered over to the secular power; after an elaborate and minute process prepared for the occasion; which is unique in history. This done, and his formal appeal to a General Council being rejected, a diabolical plot was carried out, to induce him to recant. In an evil hour he yielded; being enfeebled and depressed by nearly thirty months of rigorous imprisonment, and deprived of friends and books, of fire and candle, and of all the comforts and amenities of life. He is said to have signed several declarations; each stronger and more humiliating. They are printed in Strype's 'Memorials.' Whether they are all genuine is open to doubt. In any case, his doom was sealed. It is manifest that he was not to be allowed to survive his alleged apostasy; but his persecutors outwitted themselves in their vengeance.

On the twenty-first of March he was taken to St. Mary's Church; wearing a tattered gown and an old square cap; and was placed on an elevated stand, exposed for two hours to the gaze of the multitude, including not a few pitying souls, while a tedious sermon was preached. Exhorted to declare his dying faith, he suddenly and boldly renounced his late recantation; to the surprise and anger of his foes:—"In my heart I totally reject the doctrines of the Church of Rome. As for the Pope, I renounce him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist." Amidst howlings and execrations he was hurried forth to the spot where Ridley and Latimer had suffered. All the preparations had been made. When the torch was applied, and as the fire spread, he was seen to thrust into the flames, and hold there, his right hand, with which he

had signed the recantation ; exclaiming repeatedly with a loud voice,—"This hand hath offended!" The fire rose rapidly, and a thick smoke enveloped him ; so that life was speedily extinct. It is not fair to judge Cranmer by the standards of the present day ; or apart from the circumstances of his own time. Hallam, with his placid severity, censures him. Macaulay's unfavourable judgment is couched in strong terms. It may be that long imprisonment, protracted anxieties, overwhelming disasters, and harsh treatment had operated on a nature exquisitely sensitive and timid ; never accustomed to take a heroic view of duty. His general conduct, in his relations towards Henry VIII., is full of perplexity. Nor is it easy to determine where he stood in theology. The construction now placed upon some of his utterances would probably surprise no one more than himself. He merits compassion, and some measure of admiration ; but it is a misuse of words to call him Saint and Martyr. His attitude as one of the Fathers of the English Church is shown in the last Chapter. While honouring him for what he was and for what he did, justice compels a modified and guarded verdict of appreciation. He made such concessions to the civil power in the new hierarchy—largely reproduced in the reign of Elizabeth —that his most ardent admirers are unable to vindicate him. He bequeathed to posterity a system so charged with Erastianism as to render it difficult to separate the religious and the political element. Many of the subsequent troubles and dangers of the Church of England are due to the false spirit of compromise which he initiated, and to his attempts to establish an impossible *modus vivendi* between Rome and Geneva. In common with most men of his generation, he failed to discriminate between principle and expediency ; or between things essential and things indifferent. He fell into the common mistake of supposing that the magnificent efflorescence of spiritual life can be clipped and forced into the rigid forms of a Dutch garden.

Immediately after Cranmer's death, Pole became Archbishop of Canterbury. He had long administered the affairs of the province and received its emoluments ; worth upwards of forty thousand pounds a year in

modern money. He did his utmost to rivet firmly the bonds that were cunningly fabricated with the design to connect England for ever with the Holy See. He clung to the last to the hope of inducing the lay possessors of what he held to be Church property, to surrender it. He so worked upon the superstitious fears of the Queen as to induce her to give up her share, and once and again to intervene with other spoliators; but all in vain. The nobles and courtiers possessed a grip as firm as that of the "dead hand" of the Church in former times. Happily, the clerical reign of terror did not last long. During one of the periodical outbreaks of pestilence or fever, Mary died, on November 17, 1558; followed on the next day, from the same cause, by Pole By her death, an incipient revolt was averted, and an incubus was removed from England. Men began once more to think and speak freely. Already, during that month of November, twelve had perished at the stake, and others were in prison awaiting their doom. The Queen's death was their deliverance. With a pseudo-Protestant succession impending, the sheriffs dared not execute the bishops' writs. There was a sudden arrest of persecution. Those who had been foremost in the work were compelled to consider what might be their own position under inevitable changes. It was foreseen that England's relations with the Continent would bring her into closer contact with the Protestant countries, and would intensify the bitter feeling with which she was regarded by the adherents of the old faith. Already, the last geographical links that held her to France had been snapped. Calais was forced to surrender, in 1557, after a bold defence of ten days. Shortly afterwards, Guisnes was captured by the French. Thus the solitary remnant of Plantagenet hereditary possessions and military conquests was torn away, as Norman territories had been lost.

In spite of the disgrace and cruelty that marked the reign of Mary, it was a necessary part of the great scheme of Nationalization; beginning with the final assertion of the Royal Supremacy in Church and State. It was followed by an era of marked Progress.

Period VIII.—PROGRESS.

A.D. 1558–1603.

Chapter.

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CHAPTER XLII.

THE VIRGIN QUEEN.

A.D. 1558–1603.

ELIZABETH was in the full pride of womanhood when she became Queen in 1558. Twenty-three years of age; of commanding figure; with an intelligent face and bright eyes; a daring rider, as fond of hunting as Diana, and as chaste, according to her devoted eulogists; skilled in music and dancing; and educated beyond the women, and most of the men, of her day, she possessed the Tudor character, and, withal, was thoroughly English in her tastes, habits, and sympathies. She understood and believed in her people. They knew this; and bore with her caprice. Her peaceable accession was mainly due to arrangements made by her confidential friend and life-long adviser, William Cecil; better known by his subsequent title of Lord Burghley (1520–1598). He was appointed Secretary of State. With him were associated in the Council seven others of the New Religion; and though a large number of the old party were at first retained, their places were gradually filled by men of broader views. He was by no means an extreme Protestant. As a young man, he had shown much skill, in the closing years of Henry VIII., in defending the Royal Supremacy. He avoided displeasing either faction in the next reign. During the time of Mary he deemed it prudent to conform to the ancient creed. Habitually cautious, and studying only what was expedient, he determined to follow in Church affairs the course marked out by Cranmer. *Festina lente* was the rule of his public life. Advanced Reformers chafed with impatience at what they regarded as tardiness or timidity. Strenuous supporters of Rome resented his assertion of the rights of the Crown. But he resolutely adhered during forty years to his chosen course; was sustained by his Sovereign, with occasional outbursts of feminine petulance; and was regarded as the Nestor of the State. His industry was untiring. In his hands were the complex threads of foreign negotiations. He kept a vigilant eye

upon home politics; supervised Parliamentary business; and laboured with prelates in the construction of a Liturgy, in framing Articles of Religion, and in managing ecclesiastical affairs. Letters and memoranda in his close handwriting fill a hundred and twenty-one volumes in the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum; attesting his omnivorous capacity for administrative details. Throughout his career he displayed in a marked degree the talent of reticence; placing a strict guard upon both his tongue and his pen. "Lord Burghley's nod" has become a proverb for that dignified dubiety which is capable of various interpretations; often winning the credit for profound sagacity wholly undeserved; in the manner described in Proverbs xvii. 28.

Parliament was convened for January 25, 1559; ten days after the coronation, which was performed with all the pomp of the ancient ritual. The religious difficulty had to be faced and settled. Since Christmas, the Queen had not heard Mass in her private chapel; which remained in the same state as formerly. She kept in view the possibility of a reconciliation with Rome, as a condition of her personal safety and her regal power. A Proclamation forbade unfruitful disputes about religion; and ordered a continuance of such forms of worship as were prescribed by law, until Parliament determined various matters and ceremonies. Clerical weathercocks watched for the direction of the wind. The initial Statute is entitled "An Act to Restore to the Crown the Ancient Jurisdiction over the Estate Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, and Abolishing all Foreign Powers Repugnant to the Same." It reversed such of the legislation of Mary's reign as had effected a repeal of the Statutes abolishing Papal authority in England. Those "good Laws and Statutes" were now restored; and the Royal Supremacy was once again absolutely affirmed. The Queen had some feminine dislike to being called Head of the Church; preferring the title of Supreme Governor. It was a distinction without a difference; for she exercised the prerogatives of headship, as much as her father had done. She was declared to be "in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, supreme." The changes made by this and by other early enactments were not effected

without strenuous resistance. Bonner was the chief opponent. He was sent to the Marshalsea; where he remained in honourable durance, mainly for his own safety from popular vengeance, until his death in 1569.

On the other hand, Parkhurst (1511–1547), afterwards Bishop of Norwich, wrote to Bullinger at Zurich,—"The Pope is again driven from England, to the great regret of the whole tribe of shavelings." As a counterblast, Convocation issued a protest against any changes in doctrine or ritual. The verbal thunder was harmless. The clergy soon found that in Elizabeth they had to reckon with the daughter of Henry. She told the Spanish ambassador, de Silva, as he reported to Philip II., that she believed almost as Catholics did; the chief difference being as to the Supremacy. Her relations with her brother-in-law were of a most friendly character for many years. Such a course was politic and necessary, owing to the tension with France and Scotland. Philip had no fear of the nominal and nerveless Protestantism of so many in England. What he really dreaded, as inimical to the cause of Spain and of Rome, was the aggressive spirit that ere long developed itself in Puritanism. Elizabeth is said to have promised repeatedly that religious ceremonies should remain unchanged; a position taken by Burghley, and by other leading statesmen. Cranmer's Prayer Book was revived, with some important alterations; made ostensibly by a committee of divines and of members of the Council; but, really, under Burghley's direction, by Guest, afterwards Bishop of Rochester. On the whole, the changes were in the direction of the ancient formularies. They marked a recession from the advanced Protestant ground taken under Edward VI. The amended Book of Common Prayer was incorporated with a new Act of Uniformity; carried through the Legislature in three days, in spite of nine of the bishops, and as many peers, who protested against the measure. The Upper House contained only fifty-seven lay peers when Elizabeth came to the throne, and not more than sixty-six at the time of her decease.

The passing of this Act, which was enforced by stringent penalties of imprisonment and forfeiture, finally established the principle advanced in the two

similar Acts of Edward VI., that the forms of the national faith and worship were to be determined, not by the priesthood, but by the Legislature. Convocation was not consulted. Geffcken, in the spirit of a philosopher, and not of a polemic, has traced in his work 'On Church and State' the historical development of their relations. An avowed object was so to frame the ritual and so to define the doctrine as to render them tolerable, if not acceptable, to moderate men of both parties. In the vain hope of effecting this Quixotic task, some portions were intentionally left ambiguous; as had been done by Cranmer. In the Eucharist, the dogma of the Real Presence was both implied and denied; but with a leaning towards recognition; although Hooker explicitly declares that it is not in the Sacrament, but in the worthy recipient. The words formerly used, defining the act as commemorative, and not sacrificial, were expunged. Hence its supposed efficacy remained, as is still the case, a moot point in the Anglican Communion. The prescribed national worship was restored to the patterns, so far as regarded vestments and ornaments, set forth in the First Prayer Book of 1549; but in all other respects of doctrine and order as presented in the more advanced Liturgy of 1552; with some changes that have now only an antiquarian interest. The Ornaments Rubric emanated from the Queen; who wished that crucifixes, processions, prayers for the dead, and the reception of the consecrated elements in the mouth, should be sanctioned. Two references to the Bishop of Rome were omitted, as needlessly offensive and as likely to give umbrage. Fixed stone altars were ordered to be taken away, and moveable wooden tables substituted. They were to be carried from the East end into the chancel for the celebration; after which they were to be placed back. This gave rise to one of the most irritating disputes under Laud's martinet rule, seventy years later. Ever since, the chief wrangle over Church Discipline Acts has waged on the question as to what was appointed or permitted in the way of Ornaments by the Prayer Book of 1549.

Sir Edward Coke (1549–1634), speaking from personal knowledge in his boyhood, says that for ten years none

refused to go to church on account of any objection to the Prayer Book. It was intentionally left vague, so as to be accepted as a reasonable compromise. To most persons it must have seemed, as Cranmer had desired, a rendering of the old familiar services in the native tongue, with such adjuncts in the way of dress, attitudes, genuflexions, and ceremonies as did not challenge attention by being markedly diverse from what they had been accustomed to. Coke adds that Pius IV. (b. 1499, r. 1559–1565) wrote to the Queen, offering to sanction the Book, though it went too far in some directions and not far enough in others, if only his authority was recognised; and that the refusal led to her excommunication, which, with the action of the Council of Trent, rendered impossible a return of England to the original fold. Cranmer's Articles of Religion, reduced in number, by various omissions, combinations, and additions, from Forty-two to Thirty-nine, were revived in the Convocation of 1562, and finally settled in 1571. Subscription to them was ordered, with a view to check the admission of Romanists into the priesthood; but assent was confined to such Articles "which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments." It is singular that although the practice of subscribing to a creed began so early as the Council of Nice, in 325, neither the clergy of the Church of Rome nor those of the Greek Church have ever been called upon to do it. In England, this was not extended to the entire Liturgy until imposed by the Canons of 1603. It was further extended in 1662 by the Carolinian Act of Uniformity; the last and the worst of a fatal series.

The Thirty-nine Articles committed the new ecclesiastical establishment to opinions alien to the ancient creed. Like the Catechism bound up with the Bibles from 1574 to 1615, and issued by royal license, they are emphatic in asserting what is commonly called Calvinism; or, to speak with greater accuracy, they manifest a revival of Augustinian theology, especially the doctrines of Predestination and Free Will. The statement in the twenty-eighth and the following Article, as revised, is in exact conformity with Calvinistic opinion. Hence the Puritans were not peculiar or exclusive in this respect. The

Elizabethan prelates, who must be included among the Fathers of the English Church, held these views also; though there were shades of difference in expression, as in early and more recent times. Hooker praises the 'Institutes' of Calvin, and his 'Commentaries'; and has no controversy with his doctrinal system. He speaks of Calvin's authority as equalling that of Peter Lombard, the renowned Master of Sentences, in the flourishing period of mediæval Scholasticism; "so that the perfectest divines were judged they who were skilfullest in Calvin's writings." If the language of the Articles is vague on some points, and was left so as part of a compromise, there can be no doubt as to their general meaning. In the nine propositions known as the Lambeth Articles of 1595, Whitgift stated the doctrine of Predestination in bald and rigid terms that must satisfy extreme Calvinists, and have been surpassed only by Augustus Toplady, whose heart was far better than his creed; as is often the case with narrow dogmatists. "God," said Whitgift, "has, of His own good will and pleasure, from all eternity reprobated some men to death; men cannot be saved if they will; and a person predestinated to life, whatever his sins and relapses, shall inherit that life."

Not until the time of Laud was Arminianism introduced into the Church of England. The Thirty-nine Articles contain what she holds to be a fair Scriptural definition of the leading doctrines of Christianity; together with a condemnation of what she considers the principal errors of the Church of Rome and of certain Protestant sects. They cannot be said to contain a whole body of divinity, for many points are unnoticed; and it is to the Prayer Book as a whole that reference is made for an authoritative exposition of belief and ritual. The doctrinal definitions are generally accepted by all communities that regard themselves as Evangelical; though it is a psychological puzzle how they can express the opinions of the High Anglican or Ritualist section. Fuller vindicates the Articles from the charge of being too wide and general, which, he says, proceeded from the commendable moderation of their authors:—"Children's clothes ought to be made of the biggest; because afterwards their bodies will grow up to their garments"

However, the incongruous medley of Calvinistic doctrine with Catholic ritual and symbolism, like the prophetic image whose feet were part of iron and part of clay, though applauded as a judicious compromise, was certain to prove a source of weakness, and to issue in schism. Cranmer and other framers of the Articles could not foresee that, some three hundred years later, in 1841, J. H. Newman would issue from the venerable collegiate buildings of Oxford the notorious 'Tract No. xc.,' avowedly designed to show "how patient the Articles are of a Catholic interpretation" on certain points where they were usually taken—and, presumably, designed—to pronounce an unqualified condemnation; such as Tradition, Purgatory, the Invocation of Saints, the Mass, and the Celibacy of the Clergy.

The Act of Supremacy provided a cast-iron form of oath to be taken by all persons in holy orders; by members of the Legislature; by graduates, tutors, and schoolmasters; by lawyers, magistrates, and all administrators and officials. Refusal involved Præmunire; and a second refusal death for high treason. The companion Act of Uniformity prohibited under heavy penalties the use of any other form of Liturgy than the one in the Prayer Book; and imposed a fine on all absentees from church. Unlimited spiritual dominion was an essential part of Tudor policy. The theory was that a prescribed confession of faith, attendance at specified times on a particular form of public worship, and the recognition of the royal headship in all matters, both temporal and spiritual, were preliminary conditions to political rights and to actual citizenship. A uniform Church was to be maintained in a uniform State. Authority determined the national belief; which was to be accepted without comprehension or proof. The framework of the ancient hierarchy was left; but the spring and motive came from a regal and not a Papal source. It is an admitted fact that Romanists, for the most part, complied outwardly with these two drastic Acts; atoning for an enforced public bowing in the House of Rimmon by a private observance of their own rites. Time-serving priests did not discourage such mental reservation and practical hypocrisy. Of nine thousand four hundred

beneficed clergymen, only one hundred and eighty are known to have resigned or been deposed rather than acknowledge the Supremacy. Most of them, while not refusing the oath when tendered, abstained from taking it of their own accord; and they were left unmolested for a time. The Bull of Excommunication against Elizabeth was not launched until 1570; and then sharp and stern retaliation was inflicted upon Romanists. Meanwhile, hireling priests, whose belief was perfunctory and fitful, had no scruples about once more adjusting their course by the political compass, which they had already boxed with more skill than honesty in less than thirty years. There must have been many who served as originals for the song of the 'Vicar of Bray'; the name of which is ascribed by Fuller to the Berkshire village; though the song probably originated in the facility of braying on whichever side chanced to be dominant. Locke remarks severely, in his 'First Letter on Toleration,' on the way in which the clergy adapted their faith, their worship, and their decrees to circumstances. They continued to do so without hesitancy until enjoined by Rome to pursue a different course, when it was seen that by the irresistible trend of political events England was finally committed to Protestantism. By that time, most of the clergy had accommodated themselves to the new order of things. One of the great dignitaries who had the courage to suffer for his consistency was Feckenham, last of the Abbots of Westminster. For having "railed against the changes," he was sent to the Tower in May, 1560. The remaining twenty-five years of his life were spent in prison or under surveillance. Camden, Fuller, and Burnet speak in high terms of his learning, goodness, and piety. He had declined the primacy, because he could not abjure the Papal supremacy.

Conjectural statistics have been adduced as to the relative strength of Romanists and Protestants in England at this period. If, as alleged, the former were twice as many as the latter, it is incredible that they should have quietly submitted to the new order of things. If, on the other hand, Protestants numerically preponderated, it is equally incredible that they should have suffered the outbreak of tyranny under Mary. The precise fact is, apart

from party bias or arithmetical guesses, that while each side had many enthusiasts and zealots, each formed an actual minority of the nation. Cardinal Bentivoglio, Nuncio at Brussels from 1607 to 1616, estimated earnest Catholics then in England at one-thirtieth of the population; but that four-fifths would so avow themselves if Catholicism were re-established. The estimate probably applies also to a date fifty years earlier. The majority of people had no strong convictions, but swayed to and fro with circumstances. The great problem was to determine which of the two pronounced sections should obtain control. Jewel (1522-1571), one of the returned exiles, and author of the famous 'Apology for the Church of England,' a divine of vast erudition and eminent piety, who became Bishop of Salisbury, wrote in 1560 to his friend, Peter Martyr, at Strasburg,—"As for matters of doctrine, we have pared away everything to the quick, and do not differ from your doctrine by a nail's breadth." Yet he admits that the bulk of the people were still Catholics at heart. It is more accurate to say that they were passive; if not indifferent. They failed to understand, or did not trouble themselves about the merits of theological disputes which were of no more concern to them than the difference between Homoousians and Homoiousians in the Primitive Church. This class resisted the grasping policy of Rome, and hated the procedure of the Bishops' Courts; yet religious opinions, prejudices, and customs underwent little change. Avowed Protestants by intelligent conviction were found mostly in London and other large towns, in the Eastern Counties, in the seaports, and in districts where Lollardism had prevailed. The vast majority of the clergy and of the rural population remained attached to the old order of things. The ornate ritual, with its pomp and music, appealed to the senses; as is the case with the unreflecting and the emotional in every age; and there was a general indisposition to change for the mere sake of change.

Such a state of things will not appear surprising when it is remembered that there were many trimmers in high places. The Marquis of Winchester, for example, contrived to retain his post of Lord High Treasurer under

four successive monarchs, and in widely different circumstances; because, as he said, he was made of pliable willow, and not of stubborn oak. Sir John Mason explained his continued official position by saying that he attained to something which each party esteemed serviceable; and was so moderate that all thought him their own. They are representatives of many. At a later period, strong indignation was aroused throughout the kingdom by the Bull of Excommunication against Elizabeth; by repeated plots against her life; by the usurpation of her titles by Mary of Scotland; and by the malignant hostility of Philip II. of Spain. As these purely political events transpired, men remembered with horror and indignation the cruelties perpetrated during the preceding reign, and they determined to uphold the Royal Supremacy and the national liberty. The testimony of the Marian martyrs accomplished its purpose. At the beginning of the reign, however, the thread of events seemed entangled. The more pronounced Protestant exiles, who had returned from places of refuge on the Continent with high expectations of further ecclesiastical reforms, were perplexed and angry because their views were not at once adopted; because the course of events was not more rapid; and especially because the Queen's attitude seemed to them shifting and unsatisfactory. She blew hot and cold at the same time. They were regarded by her and her advisers as unreasonable and revolutionary. Her own religious education had been partial and imperfect. All her life, she expressed an insuperable objection to clerical marriage; merely as a matter of prejudice. The dogmatism of Calvin was as distasteful to her as the despotism of Rome. She disliked the baldness of the Protestant form of worship. Storms of theological controversy only aroused her amazement. Personally, by preference, she was a Romanist, so far as its ritual and much of its teaching were concerned. In politics, and from State exigencies, she was a Protestant in name. The grave spiritual problems of that day possessed no interest for her. Of religious emotion, as of the passion of love, she knew nothing.

Her course was consistent throughout. She regarded herself as the monarch, not of a party or of a sect, but

of the whole nation. Its ecclesiastical unity, as well as its organic unity, must be upheld ; and all extremes must be repressed. The ground taken was identical with that assumed by the German Lutherans ; and may be defined by the maxim, *Cujus regio ejus religio ;* "the religion of the country must be that of the monarch." She kissed an English Bible presented by the citizens of London on her first public entry ; and promised a diligent perusal. She ordered the Bishop of Carlisle not to elevate the Host when celebrating High Mass before her ; and, on his persisting, rose and left the place. She scolded Feckenham for using incense and holy water ; but she scolded as severely the zealots on the other side. Dean Nowell (1507–1602) was publicly reprimanded in St. Paul's for placing before her a Prayer Book containing pictures of saints and martyrs. Three years later, in 1565, she shouted in her imperious manner to the same Dean, when preaching against images,—"Leave that ! We have heard enough of that !" On the previous Good Friday she publicly thanked the preacher in the Chapel Royal for his sermon in defence of the doctrine of the Real Presence. In many other instances she appeared to be as fitful as the wind. No wonder, as is shown in the next Chapter, that the Puritans were astonished, grieved, and scandalized. They failed to perceive that her relations with the Church were purely political. She would not tolerate dictation from priests of either party. She was determined to rule as her father had done. Jewel wrote to Peter Martyr, in the letter already cited,—"The Queen, though she openly favours our cause, is wonderfully afraid of allowing any innovations." The 'Zurich Letters' contain many such expressions. The 'Narrative of the Troubles at Frankfort' is a pitiful exhibition of how minor matters became magnified into questions of principle. The English refugees returned with a resolve to agitate for greater reforms than were likely to be conceded. To their impatience it seemed as tedious a process as the weaving of Penelope's web.

The Queen and her advisers saw the advantages derivable from an intimate connection between the temporal and spiritual powers. The Church was an integral part of a system designed to maintain the prerogative. She

was its head, as well as the head of the State. To disobey her in either capacity was treasonable. The powers of an administration that was nearly absolute were used to punish and suppress all dissidents; even though the fable of Saturn devouring his children were embodied in stern fact. When John Udall was tried in 1589 on a charge of writing the Martin Marprelate Tracts, the judge ruled, in accordance with the prevalent opinion and usage, that no right existed for any one to seek to alter the government as laid down by her Majesty. This was no more than Calvin and the most ardent Reformers contended for; only, their opinions were to form the standard, and their practices were to be forced on others. With the lapse of years, and the increase of opposition, an acknowledgment of the Royal Supremacy in everything was more jealously insisted upon. Statesmen and prelates viewed with alarm a controversy that was certain to arise. Liberty claimed in spiritual affairs was certain to lead to demands for greater liberty in civil matters. Monarchical absolutism and prelatical assumption were threatened. But the right of private judgment could not be repressed. It successfully rebelled against the priesthood; and, in the next century, against the throne. Nor did the prelates escape censure. The Council wrote to them and the Queen addressed them in terms that would astonish their successors. If provoked, she treated them with downright rudeness; and she could be studiously offensive. Burghley's influence alone prevented her from making an attempt to enforce clerical celibacy. She was never reconciled to the opposite practice, and expressed to the bishops, in the coarse terms of the age, her regret and displeasure that some of them were married. She only connived at it, and would not admit that their children were legitimate. After a visit to Archbishop Parker, at Lambeth, where she was sumptuously entertained, she ungraciously thanked his wife for the hospitality, but said she could not address her as "Madam," and was loth to call her "Mistress." It was the expression, in her own brusque manner, of the common feeling of the time; a curious survival of which is found in the anomalous style given to prelates' wives, for they do not share in the titular honours of their husbands as peers of

the realm. Elizabeth suspended Fletcher, Bishop of London, "for marrying a fine lady and a widow." His predecessor, Aylmer, having preached against vanity in female dress, which was her special weakness—she is said to have left three thousand dresses in her wardrobe—she threatened to fit him for Heaven. When Cox, Bishop of Ely, who, however, was only treated as he had treated many others, refused to alienate certain lands for the benefit of her favourite, Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Keeper and Court dancer, she sent a curt missive,—"Proud prelate! you know what you were before I made you what you are. If you do not immediately comply with my request, by God! I will unfrock you." She believed in her power to do so, and would not have hesitated to exercise it; and she was notorious for the roundness and full flavour of her oaths. In her closing speech to Parliament in 1584, she told the prelates that if they did not amend what was wrong she would dispose of them.

Statesmen, judges, and other high officials did not escape her sharp tongue. Burghley and Walsingham repeatedly bemoan in their private correspondence her wilfulness and waywardness. Her methods of dealing with the Legislature were peculiar. She resented free discussion; sometimes absolutely prohibiting it; and even sending to the Tower members who displeased her. Occasionally, she went too far in her imperious censures; and then she instantly receded with charming grace, and there was a loving reconciliation. No one could be more courteous and winsome when she chose. Political liberty was far from being extinct; as it has been the fashion, since Hume's time, to represent. Independent members like William Fleetwood, Peter Wentworth, William Strickland, and Edward Aglionby resolutely attacked abuses, and the Crown was compelled to yield. During the worst periods of Tudor despotism, as during the dark and infamous Stuart days and throughout subsequent troublous times, a succession of patriots guarded the flame of liberty with even greater vigilance and fidelity than the Vestals watched the sacred fire of their goddess. One notable instance was the attack made in 1601 upon the odious practice of granting to courtiers patents of monopoly for articles in common use, such as salt, coals,

iron, paper, and many other things ; to the restraint of trade and the impoverishment of the nation. During the debate, the Queen, who always knew how to perform a gracious act, sent a conciliatory message and surrendered the point ; though further concessions had to be wrung from James I. ; and then monopolies were revived, and became a sore grievance under his son. Elizabeth was careful not to push the prerogative too far. She economised ; and was known to be penurious. At one time, she had a hoard of half a million : an enormous sum in those days. But she could be munificent on rare occasions ; and she did not extort money by Benevolences, Forced Loans, and other nefarious practices. For the chief part of the reign, taxation was light. The Exchequer was neither bankrupt nor overflowing. The corsair expeditions against the Spanish Colonies, in which she secretly participated, formed a lucrative source of supply ; in addition to spoil derived from Church appointments kept vacant ; to regular grants from Parliament ; and to the ordinary Crown revenues. The first State Lottery in England was opened in 1567 ; the plan being borrowed from the Continent.

The subject of the Queen's marriage was repeatedly discussed in Parliament, notwithstanding positive prohibitions. Negotiations were opened with various Continental princes, but no satisfactory result was reached. In 1579, at the mature age of forty-five, it seemed likely that she would accept the young Duke of Anjou. The popular mind was roused in opposition ; mainly by a pamphlet against the scheme, written by John Stubbs, of Lincoln's Inn, brother-in-law to Cartwright, the Puritan, and a friend of the poet Spenser. There was nothing in the pamphlet to which exception would now be taken ; nor did it call for the savage treatment to which the writer was subjected. He and the publisher were condemned by the Queen's Bench to have their right hands cut off, and to be imprisoned during pleasure. After the execution of the sentence, Stubbs waved his cap with the other hand ; exclaiming, with a loyalty almost grotesque, —"God bless the Queen!" Monson, one of the judges of the Common Pleas, questioned the legality of the sentence ; and was removed from the Bench. Probably

the reason why Elizabeth did not marry, notwithstanding all her coquetry and her insatiable thirst for adulation, was that she could not brook the idea of sharing her authority, or of being in any way subordinate. Strong as was her passion for favourites, whom she alternately kissed and cuffed, the Tudor love of rule was far stronger; and so she remained, as Shakspere describes her,—"In maiden meditation, fancy free."

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE PURITANS.

A.D. 1558–1603.

THE Primacy remained vacant for thirteen months after the death of Cardinal Pole; the revenues accruing, as usual, to the Crown. Matthew Parker (1504–1575) had various preferments under Henry VIII., and was Dean of Lincoln during the last year of the reign of Edward VI.; but lived in discreet retirement amidst the troublous times of Mary. He was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in December 1559. The ridiculous story of the act having been performed at the Nag's Head, in Cheapside, has long since exploded, like the earlier figment of Pope Joan. Strype describes Parker's reluctance to accept the office, and his repeated attempts to evade it. The plea of *Nolo episcopari* appears to have been sincere in his case. In the oath of allegiance, he expressly acknowledged the Queen's supremacy; "utterly renounced and forsook all foreign jurisdiction"; and declared that he held the office and its possessions, "as well the spiritualities as the temporalities thereof, only of your Majesty." Other episcopal vacancies were speedily filled, under the revived *congé d'élire* and letter-missive, by men chosen with a view to carry out the Act of Uniformity. The bad old custom was continued of charging their revenues with payments to courtiers. An Act was passed, empowering the Queen, on any vacancy, to divert some of the income, and, if needful, to make it up with impro-

priate livings. She once kept the rich See of Ely vacant nineteen years; retaining its emoluments in accordance with a usage that had prevailed for five centuries. Other dioceses were so treated for terms varying from three to ten years. The most flagrant case was that of Oxford, which was without a bishop for forty years of her reign. Large sums were derived also from Firstfruits and from Tenths. Changes and translations were made for the purpose of replenishing the royal purse. Most of the Elizabethan prelates, like not a few of their successors, complied in an alien sense with the Apostolic injunction to provide for their own houses. Strype gives, in his 'Annals,' illustrations of the manner in which they enriched themselves and despoiled their successors by long leases, by alienations, and by cutting down timber.

Parker's name prominently appears during the first sixteen years of the reign. It was the formative period of the English Protestant Church; of which he was one of the Fathers. Besides being a theologian and an ecclesiastical statesman, he was versed in Church antiquities, and he revived the study of Early English literature. His library, the largest and most valuable of his benefactions to his Alma Mater, is still the pride of Corpus Christi College; to which also he gave various fellowships and scholarships. As Primate, he took a leading part in the settlement of Church affairs. He must be held mainly responsible for the schisms and troubles that broke out. A severe disciplinarian, his notions of religion were restricted to a maintenance of its forms. He would not tolerate the least deviation from the prescribed routine. Fuller says, in his punning style:—"He was a Parker indeed; careful to keep the fences and shut the gates of discipline against all such night-stealers as would invade the same." As was shown in the last Chapter, persistent attempts to follow Cranmer's *Via Media*, like putting new wine into old skin bottles, were designed to enable men of opposing creeds to dwell together, if not in unity, yet in apparent uniformity. The political and spiritual life of the nation was to be one and indivisible; after a rigid pattern. It was another instance of blind acceptance; like the *Fides Carbonarii*.

Toleration was unknown. It was not dreamed of by

men of light and leading before the days of Milton and Locke; unless, indeed, the contemned early Baptists dimly perceived and partly asserted the principle. The modern idea attaching to the word had not entered the imagination of the wildest sectary. It was deemed right to punish and suppress heretics and schismatics; meaning thereby all who differed from the party that chanced to be dominant. The Queen declared it inconsistent with her safety, honour, and credit to permit diversity of opinions: and lectured the two archbishops that it was "provoking to Almighty God, grievous to herself, and ruinous to her people and country." She peremptorily commanded Parker to confer with his colleagues, and "by coercion and censures to maintain strict uniformity." A Procrustean bed was provided for the national doctrine and ritual. The course of the English Reformation was authoritatively determined. Individual fervour and conviction went beyond the prescribed limits, and demanded greater changes. Rushing waves of thought and feeling, of hope and resolve, of belief and conscience, had superseded the old intellectual stagnation and moral death. This was the origin and the essence of Puritanism. The name was given in reproach and scorn, like many other epithets; but it simply expressed the desire for a purer and simpler form of worship and for a complete Reformation in doctrine. The Puritans approved of the doctrinal and ritual changes, so far as they had gone, but were alarmed at the simulation of the ceremonies of the Romish Church and at certain almost identical doctrines taught by the English Church; alone among the Reformed communities. The connection of the Puritan movement with the one initiated by Wycliffe, and carried on by the Lollards, has been already pointed out, and its essentially English character needs to be kept in view.

Few men have suffered more misrepresentation than the Puritans; but they have been amply vindicated by Neal, Hallam, Vaughan, Marsden, Tulloch, Stoughton, Green, and other writers. Hallam's delineation has been heightened in colour by Macaulay, in his famous article on Milton. Parker denounced them as "schismatics, belly-gods, deceivers, flatterers, fools; unlearnedly brought up in profane occupations; puffed up in arrogancy; dis-

turbers, factious, wilful entanglers; girders, nippers, scoffers, biters, snappers at superiors;" and in other vituperative and exaggerated terms. His successor, Whitgift (1530–1604), who hated them yet more bitterly, used similar language. Dugdale (1605–1686) called them "a viperous brood, miserably infesting these kingdoms. They were of their father, the devil, and his works they would do." No enmity is so virulent as that springing out of the *odium theologicum*. Even the Puritans, as will have to be repeatedly shown, are not exempt from the charge; although extenuating circumstances may be pleaded; for they were provoked by unjust treatment. Shakspere, unlike some of his contemporaries and successors, never regarded them as objects of hatred or of ridicule. In his living pages are found almost every type of knave, hypocrite, and buffoon; but no canting Puritanical rogue such as other writers like Thomas Nash, Ben Jonson, Colley Cibber, Isaac Bickerstaff, and Samuel Butler depict. Though the name was in common use in Shakspere's day, it occurs only thrice in 'Twelfth Night,' twice in 'All's Well,' and once each in 'A Winter's Tale' and in 'Pericles.' Nor does he ever use it in what may be deemed an offensive sense. His solitary reference to the Separatists is a harmless allusion by Sir Andrew Aguecheek. It is remarkable that his references to the great ecclesiastical struggles of his day are so few and slight; unless it were that prudence dictated reticence. He cannot have been ignorant of, and was probably not indifferent to the wave of Puritan feeling; for it was strong around Stratford-on-Avon, and especially in Warwick and in Banbury.

Falling into an opposite extreme, some eulogists of the Puritans are blind to mistakes and faults, such as their narrowness and lack of proportion; their inconsistency and impracticalness; their magnifying of minor details and exaggeration of mere incidents; their misconception of the true functions of government; their intolerance of diversity of opinion; and their subordination of the freedom of the intellect to the tyranny of a verbal text, interpreted in the way they judged to be right. There is a tendency, also, to overlook the difference between Early and Later Puritans, and between such as were high-

minded and learned, and ignorant zealots or undoubted hypocrites. In course of time, Episcopacy was abandoned by many for Presbyterianism. What they became, after long years of struggle, disappointment, and persecution, as narrated in subsequent Chapters, must not be confounded with what they were at the outset, when their principal objection was to what they regarded as Popish vestments, attitudes, genuflexions, and ceremonies, purposely retained in the Reformed Church of England. Slight concessions, a spirit of conciliation, and a wise and generous scheme of comprehension might have overcome their scruples, and prevented subsequent breaches and schisms. Neither the Queen, nor Burghley, nor Parker would yield; and the unhappy disputes among the Continental exiles during the late reign bore their bitter fruit. Not for ten or twelve years after Elizabeth's accession did the Puritans oppose the government, the constitution, and some of the essential doctrines of the Established Church. They intensely disliked the "Popish apparel." Not only the clergy, but many of the laity hated it, and, according to Whitgift—unless his statement is only metaphorical—would spit in the faces of those who wore it. Some prelates also had as strong an objection as Hooper had shown to the sacerdotal garb; because of its symbolism. Jewel compared it to scenic apparatus; and said it was "a stage dress; a fool's coat; and a relic of the Amorites." Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, objected to the cap and surplice. Others, like Dean Nowell, and Sandys, afterwards Archbishop of York, called them "those proud things that fools marvel at." Grindal, when Bishop of London, was reluctant to enforce the prescribed clerical habits. Burghley, Leicester, Walsingham, and other statesmen, were of the same mind. Parker gloried in not having worn them at his own consecration; yet he persecuted such as scrupled at external and minor things, because they formed parts of a legalized sacerdotal system which he was determined to uphold.

Behind and beneath their scruples and objections regarding tippets and stoles; eating pancakes on Shrove Tuesday, or hot-cross buns on Good Friday, or mince-pies at Christmas; making the sign of the cross in

baptism ; the use of the ring in marriage, and the Eastward position of the altar, there was something else, of wide significance and profound conviction. Puritanism was an effort, like that of Nature with a sloughing wound, to throw off superfluous, morbid, or dangerous matter. It was an endeavour to rid Christianity of all adhesions foreign to its character ; destructive of its power ; and derogatory to its beauty. The central design was to emancipate it from the accidents in doctrine, in ceremonial, and in discipline with which the ignorance and superstition of the Middle Ages had encrusted it. The validity of clerical administration of the Sacraments, supposed to possess a miraculous virtue, was associated in the popular mind with priestly garments. The Puritans, holding that the Mass was an idolatrous rite, and that sacerdotal persons and acts were not essential to salvation, denounced the robes, caps, altar-cloths, and all the paraphernalia which the common people identified with the performance of a magical or mystic ceremony. Objection was taken, not so much to the outward signs, as to the things signified. Whatever may be thought now of some of the points over which such prolonged and acrimonious disputes waged, and although there seemed to be an aiming after an exotic and impossible virtue, the root-question was as to the supremacy of Divine or human teaching ; of the Bible or tradition ; of the external form or the inward spirit. The Puritans had no desire to become Separatists. They abhorred the name, with all that it implied. They viewed with aversion Anabaptists, Brownists, and other factions ; and would have persecuted them with as much rigour as they themselves had to endure from High Prelacy. It is one thing to claim the right of private judgment ; it is a different and a difficult matter to use the right wisely, or to concede it to others.

Nor were the Puritans singular in this respect. The most advanced Reformers in Europe did not dream of standing apart from the avowed and recognised religion of the nation to which they belonged. The question was as to the specific character of the particular form of religion. They desired to give currency to their own views, and to establish their own creed. Calvin, in

Geneva ; Knox, in Scotland ; the Huguenots, in France ; the Lutherans, in Germany ; and the Puritans, returning to England after their weary exile on the Continent, scouted as profane the right of every man to worship God after the dictates of his own conscience. Their own dogmatic teaching, their preferences in ritual, and their rigid forms of Church discipline were to be unquestioningly accepted, and, as soon as possible, were to be enforced upon others. They craved and strove for ascendancy ; together with the enjoyment of ecclesiastical positions and revenues. While denying the Scripturalness of existing forms, ceremonies, vestments, and, eventually, of some teachings of the Established Church, the Puritans did not scruple to accept its livings. Indeed, they claimed an exclusive right to them, on the plea that they alone were the true reformers. According to their theory, the Church included the entire baptized population ; but the doctrines taught, the ritual observed, and the methods of discipline enforced were to be of the Genevan type. It is hard to perceive wherein such assertions differed from the claims of Rome. No wonder they did not gain their ends. It was well for the future of England that they failed in this respect ; while succeeding in one far higher, if unsought and unexpected. They sincerely believed themselves to be in the right, and that their opponents were grievously and utterly wrong ; but much of the cruelty and tyranny of the world, particularly in religious matters, have been perpetrated by those who persuaded themselves that they alone were right. In the slow course of time, and as a result of severe struggles and of much suffering, a change of sentiment was effected It is now generally conceded that supreme importance attaches, not to what a man thinks in matters of religion, or to what he professes to believe, or to the attire of the performing clergyman, or to the phraseology and forms of worship, but to the individual character and life.

Thus the chief error of the Puritans was their imperfect acquaintance with the nature of intellectual and religious freedom. They supposed that God has appointed for men in all time a defined order of ecclesiastical discipline. They held a creed that was unbending in its

rigidity; to which other persons were required strictly to conform. They would not concede the freedom claimed for themselves. Even when they suffered most, they remained implacable; not as a matter of temper, but from mistaken conviction. It is possible to recognise their high character, great abilities, public services, and signal merits, and yet to disapprove of their spirit. It would be folly to pretend that they were immaculate; but they were unquestionably sincere; acting on Milton's sublime maxim,—"As ever in my great Taskmaster's eye." They were also loyal and patriotic, and were entitled to the equal protection of the law. They rescued England from a perpetual tyranny; half regal, half prelatical. They helped, unconsciously, to establish civil and religious freedom; and, in time, they learned the hard lesson of toleration, though they understood it not in the modern sense. As the testimony of the Primitive Church rent and shattered the rock of despotism of the Roman Empire, so their testimony and their sufferings rent Tudor and Stuart absolutism.

Convocation debated, in 1562, some of the questions in dispute in matters of vestments and of histrionics. Proposed changes were defeated by a bare majority of one. Those favouring extended reforms must have become more numerous as time went on. The course adopted by the Government shows how much they were feared. The State Papers reveal widespread resistance to the "Popish habits," and great diversity of usage in conducting Divine service. The Queen addressed another characteristic letter to Parker, in January, 1565, insisting upon strict obedience to the Act of Uniformity. He and the bishops were to see to it at their peril. A 'Book of Advertisements' was drawn up, to prevent diversity in apparel and ritual. In particular, the surplice was to be worn; though it proved like the robe of Nessus. The Council would not sanction the book; yet the prelates were required to enforce the law. Parker was angry; and his letters to Burghley reveal his feeling. He summoned the London clergy to Lambeth, and had a living model placed before them, dressed after the approved style of ecclesiastical millinery. "Ye that will subscribe, write 'Volo'; those that will not, write

'Nolo.' Make no words." Two-fifths refused to adopt the sartorial pattern. They were given three months for reflection. "I think some of them must come in when they shall feel their want;" he wrote to Burghley. The Act was rigorously enforced throughout the country. Some of the best and most laborious preachers were suspended or deprived for non-compliance with the canonical dress and ritual. Some were flung into prison, and kept there for long periods. Nor was this all. So long as the printing press was free, books and pamphlets —called "seditious libels," in the legal jargon of the day—were constantly issued. Opinions were promulgated that were obnoxious to the Queen and the hierarchy. A decree of the Star Chamber, in June, 1566, gagged the press. Nothing might be printed against "the Injunctions set forth or to be set forth," under pain of forfeiture; with three months' imprisonment, and prohibition from all future exercise of the art of printing. Persons stitching, binding, or selling such books were to be fined twenty shillings for every copy. Stationers and booksellers, of whom the number then was extremely few, were to enter into recognisances to obey the order. Press censorship was tightened in 1585 by another Star Chamber edict, enforcing the registration of all printers; prohibiting the exercise of the craft except in London and one in each University town; and requiring for every book the previous imprimatur of the Primate or of the Bishop of London, under pain of imprisonment. This muzzling order was continued, with occasional and slight variations, down to 1693. It called forth Milton's masterpiece in prose, the 'Areopagitica'; with his bold but beautiful figure of the lovely form of the Virgin Truth, hewed into a thousand pieces, like the mangled body of Osiris.

As the original demands of the Puritans were not granted, other and larger demands were made; as is universally the case when reasonable reforms are resisted. In the year 1570, the institution of Episcopacy was boldly assailed by Thomas Cartwright (1535–1603), Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge; a keen disputant; merciless in his logic; learned and devout; but hard, narrow, and intolerant. His lectures

were like the application of a match to a train of gunpowder. He exposed glaring abuses; denounced pluralities and non-residence as impious; and the spiritual courts as "damnable, devilish, and detestable." A formidable party of advanced Puritans soon appeared. His utterances, and especially his published 'Second Admonition to the Parliament,' condemning all that was contrary to the doctrines and practices of Geneva, led to the issue of one of the many Proclamations vainly intended to enforce the Act of Uniformity. The 'First Admonition' was not written by Cartwright, but by two London clergymen, John Field and Thomas Wilcox; both of whom were committed to prison. These two books, and all similar writings which denounced the government of bishops as contrary to the Word of God, were peremptorily ordered to be brought in within twenty days, upon pain of imprisonment. On the expiration of the time Parker complained that not a single copy had been surrendered. Cartwright's treatise aroused a frenzy of fear. John Whitgift (1530–1604), Master of Trinity, was chosen to answer it; but received a crushing rejoinder. Failing to silence his opponent by arguments, Whitgift, as Vice-Chancellor, secured his deprivation of the professorship. Whitgift himself was a notorious pluralist; for he held a rich living, a prebend, and the Deanery of Lincoln. He found speedy solace in the Bishopric of Worcester for his failure in controversy, and left the further championship of the Church to Richard Hooker (1553–1600); who, after years of study, and with the assistance of other learned men, published 'The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity'; a mighty treatise on philosophy, theology, and politics. It would have been well if his temper had prevailed during the next hundred years. Abuses would have found their correctives. The Church of England would have become Protestant in fact as well as in name; and terrible rents and divisions might have been spared. Intolerance and oppression brought on a tempest which rose to a hurricane, and swept over the land in the following century, because of a defective Reformation that issued in the Divine Right of Kingship, in a supposed celestial origin of Episcopacy, and in an un-

workable compromise in doctrine and in usage. Moreover, it was illogical and inconsistent on the part of a Church that was itself schismatical and apostate from the great communion of Christendom, unless the right of private judgment be conceded, to deny that right to others by imposing new Articles and Canons.

Cartwright, like most of the Puritans, maintained that "the magistrate ought to enforce the attendance of Papists and Atheists at the services of the Church; to punish them if they did not profit by the preaching; to increase the punishment if they gave signs of contempt; and if, at last, they proved utterly impenitent, to cut them off, so that they might not corrupt and infect others." This sounds more like an utterance of the Furies of Æschylus than of a follower of Jesus Christ. There is no doubt of Cartwright's sincerity. He repudiated Separatism, and treated Barrowe and Greenwood with indifference; if not with contempt. In lieu of a stringent Episcopacy, enforced by pains and penalties, he would have set up within the Established Church an equally stringent modified Presbyterianism, enforced in like manner, but without any safeguards against intolerance. He denounced the absolute Episcopal rule, as begotten of Satan; but he insisted that the absolute rule of Presbyters had Divine sanction. There was little to choose between his infallibility and that of the Pope. He would have settled doctrine, established discipline, regulated public order, and watched over private morals through the Presbyterian clergy in their synods; arming them with the terrible weapon of excommunication, and requiring the civil ruler to enforce their decrees and to suppress all other religions. His theory of church government, like that of so many professional clerics in every age, was subversive of civil rights. He maintained the dangerous principle of a religious Establishment independent of the State, yet upheld by the civil power, which was to be subordinated to the ecclesiastical. With all his shrewdness, he failed to see, as good men have done since his time, that this would have given to the Anglican Church, even when remodelled on his own scheme, the objectionable and dangerous powers of the Romish priesthood. His defects and

mistakes were those of his age and calling. A sacerdotal order, endowed with vast wealth, upheld by the national authority, but irresponsible and armed with the means to punish and coerce all dissentients, would be a despotism and a curse; whether Romanist, Anglican, Puritan, Presbyterian, Independent, or Methodist.

How far Cartwright's associates endorsed his more pronounced views, it is impossible to say. Many of them, like John Foxe and Myles Coverdale, censured the extreme members of their own party; who retorted by calling them Moderates. The mistake lay in imagining that principles of theocratic government, provided under exceptional circumstances for a small nation of Jews in ancient days, and administered under direct Divine sanction, could be made applicable on a large scale by fallible men in modern times and under very different circumstances. The more rigid Puritans would have carried out the Mosaic law in all its integrity and severity, and would have punished, ostracized, or executed those who presumed to differ from their standard of faith and morals. Others were more reasonable, and adopted legitimate means in seeking a reformation of abuses. They were ready to suffer where they could not comply. They did not escape censure and punishment. They were regarded as more obnoxious than the Romanists; and yet, but for them, the Queen's reign would not have ended peaceably. It was largely owing to them that the tide of re-action was stayed which threatened to engulf England. Her people imbibed new ideas of civil liberty, and received an impulse which placed her at the head of European nations; mainly from the teachings of the essential principles of Puritanism. So relentless, however, was the persecution, that Cartwright became an exile for eleven years; most of which were spent in Antwerp, whence he carried on a voluminous correspondence and an interminable controversy. He wrote an Introduction to and translated from the Latin a 'Book of Discipline,' prepared by a learned fellow-exile, Walter Travers; formerly afternoon lecturer in the Temple Church, and a terrible thorn, by his disputatious and cantankerous spirit, in the side of gentle Richard Hooker, the Master. It was commonly

said that Canterbury was preached in the morning, and Geneva in the afternoon, from the same pulpit. The book led to much trouble. According to the scheme propounded, bishops were to be done away with; ministers were to be chosen by the congregations; and discipline was to be exercised by assemblies and synods, after the scheme had been approved by Parliament.

An attempt to secure such approval was made in the House of Commons in February, 1588, by Anthony Cope, who, with Peter Wentworth and three other members, were committed to the Tower for their pains. Cope is mentioned several times in the State Papers of the period as being suspected or in trouble for his opposition to Maypoles, Morris-dances, and other practices objectionable to the Puritans. The next year, a Bill to abolish pluralities passed, but was rejected by the Lords. The subject of religion was continually before the Legislature, to the resentment of the Queen, who often sent messages bidding the members not waste time on matters that did not concern them. Fleetwood, afterwards Recorder of London, said in his place in the House of Commons, in 1571, that they "knew there was a God to be served as well as the bishops"; and that when Bills were referred to the bishops they commonly came to nothing. Wentworth described in the House in 1575 a conversation with Parker, who sent for him to object to the Commons interfering with religious questions; saying—"You will refer yourselves wholly to us therein." Wentworth replied—"No! by the faith I bear to God. We will pass nothing before we understand what it is; for that were but to make you Popes. Make you Popes who list; for we will make you none." Returning to England in shattered health in 1585, Cartwright was imprisoned for some months by Bishop Aylmer, without trial, but was released through the intervention of Burghley. He was then appointed by the Earl of Leicester (1532-1588) as chaplain to a hospital which he had founded at Warwick. Burghley once more effected his deliverance from the Fleet Prison, where he was confined from October, 1590, to May, 1592; and he died at Warwick, December 27, 1603. The movement which he inaugurated proved transient. He advocated

a system of pure Presbyterianism, to a degree unapproached by the Westminster Assembly of Divines. There is, however, no historical continuity between this academic movement and the later Puritanism of the seventeenth century; any more than there is between the latter and what is styled, somewhat pretentiously, the Presbyterian Church of England in the nineteenth century

Parker died May 17, 1575. Whatever his demerits as an ecclesiastical statesman, he rendered one distinguished service, in addition to his special researches into English literature and Church antiquities. An early Proclamation had restored the Great Bible, after its suppression under Mary, to the rank of the Authorized Version. Tyndale's, Coverdale's, and the Genevan were also in extensive use; the last one, from its convenient size and for other reasons, being by far the most popular. It was issued in 1560, after two years' preparation, by some of the Marian exiles, including Coverdale and John Knox; but chiefly by William Whittingham, who had issued in Geneva, three years previously, a small octavo English edition of the New Testament, also based on Tyndale's, like the Genevan Bible. The latter was collated with the Great Bible, with a perceptible influence from Theodore Beza (1519–1605), whose Latin version had been published four years earlier. Thomas Sampson, a great linguist, and a profound divine, who became Dean of Christ Church, and Anthony Gilby, rendered valuable assistance. Whittingham married Calvin's sister, and was subsequently appointed Dean of Durham. He was looked up to as one of the leaders of the Puritan party. In 1568, however, another version of the Scriptures appeared, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, from the circumstance that most of the revisers—it was in no sense a translation, but only a recension—were prelates. The plan originated five years before. It was felt that the Great Bible needed revision, as a matter of critical scholarship. The one that was coming over from Geneva in large quantities was not likely to arouse the sympathies, or to meet with the approval of men like Parker; determined as they were to enforce episcopal authority. Neither the Queen nor Parliament, nor Convocation,

had anything to do with the project; and the royal sanction was never granted. Strype gives the particulars; but they do not call for special notice. The supervision devolved upon Parker, and probably he is to be credited with the whole design. Various reprints appeared during the reign; but many more of the Genevan, of which no fewer than ninty-four issues of the whole Bible, and forty-three of the New Testament, have been traced between its first publication and the close of that century; besides about seventy more editions of a later date. It was for nine years contemporaneous with the Great Bible, which it outlived, for none were printed after 1569; probably owing to the unwieldly size and the high price. It also survived for a lengthened period the last edition of the Bishops' Bible, in 1606. The quarto size made it portable and convenient. Being printed in Roman type, instead of the Old English black letter, it remained in use as the People's Bible for more than a century; or long after the issue of what is known as the Authorized Version. The division into verses—many of which, unfortunately, are arbitrary, incorrect, and confusing—following the plan of Robert Stephens, of the renowned French family (Etienne) of printers, added to its popularity; as did the historical, geographical, and inferential notes; a mere fraction of which were doctrinal, in the Calvinistic sense. The first Bible printed in Scotland was a folio reproduction of the Genevan issue of 1561; and it appeared eighteen years later.

Grindal (1510–1583), who had formerly been Bishop of London, was translated from York to Canterbury. He pursued a milder course towards the Puritans. They had been in the habit of holding what were termed Prophesyings; using the word in the sense of St. Paul, namely, to teach or preach. The clergy were grouped under a moderator appointed by the bishop of the diocese, and met once a fortnight to discuss Scripture passages. The Queen, who seldom cared to hear sermons, and, when she did, was addicted to a running commentary and a free criticism, like the garrulous George the Third and some of his sons, thought there were too many gatherings and too many preachers; even when nine out of ten were "dumb dogs"; to use a common phrase of the

time. Three or four in a county sufficed, in her opinion. Perhaps the Early Puritans, like most Nonconformists in later days, attached undue importance to the pulpit, as distinguished from worship. There has always been a tendency to subordinate the latter to the former. A popular preacher, in any age or country, can attract a crowd of admirers ; until some one else arises with a different style of emotional rhetoric, or with greater capacity to utter platitudes that echo the ignorance or the prejudices of his hearers. Among the ecclesiastical diversities of the last three centuries in England due place must be assigned to the extreme of ceremonial ritual, on the one hand, and to the extreme of mere preaching, on the other. It must also be remembered that the pulpit formerly supplied the place of the modern platform and newspaper ; and that the utterances were often embarrassing and annoying to the Government. The Prophesyings were forbidden ; to Grindal's sorrow. He remonstrated with the Queen ; for which he was sequestered, and remained in disgrace until his death. Fuller suggests another reason ; that Leicester coveted Lambeth Palace, and as Grindal would not surrender his official residence, the favourite succeeded in ruining him with the Queen. He was followed by Whitgift : a man after her own heart. She styled him her "little Black Parson," in conformity with an affected custom to which she was given, like other "conceits" of that day. Burghley was her "spirit" ; his son, Sir Robert Cecil, who was dwarfed and misshapen, was her "little elf" ; Egerton, the Lord Keeper, was her "dromedary" ; Hatton was her "sheep," and also bore the enigmatical name of "lyddes" ; Mountjoy was her "Irish kitchen-maid" ; and the mother of Sir John Norris she called "my own crow."

Whitgift did more than any one, by his implacable opposition, to develop aggressive Puritanism, with its outgrowth of sects. Appointed to the Primacy in September, 1583, he addressed himself to the congenial task of enforcing unquestioning obedience to the Act of Uniformity. Illegal edicts were issued, in excess of or contrary to the Statutes of the Realm, in order to extirpate the Puritans, root and branch. Hitherto, most of

the bishops had connived at occasional or partial conformity. Henceforth, this was to cease. The law was to be enforced without mercy and without exception. An immediate effect was to silence a large number of clergymen. No fewer than two hundred and thirty-three were suspended in six counties. Remonstrances and petitions poured in upon the Council, without avail. Its members and the prelates were resolute on pressing matters to an extremity. They only plunged deeper into a Serbonian bog. The Act of Supremacy, passed in the first year of the reign, contained a clause empowering the creation of a Court of High Commission, to exercise the visitatorial powers of the Crown for correcting ecclesiastical abuses and heresies. Several temporary commissions had been issued, but a permanent one was appointed, December 9, 1583, and continued in existence until destroyed by the Long Parliament. Accused persons might be tried with or without a jury, as the Court determined. Failing other evidence, they might be required to take an oath of purgation. This *ex-officio* oath pledged them to answer all questions, though framed for the express purpose of self-incrimination or of implicating others. Fuller designates it "the picklock of conscience." Refusal to answer was twisted into an admission of guilt. Imprisonment or the rack was employed to extort evidence. In this way, the objects sought by the Holy Office in the Romish Church, and also some of its revolting methods, were made part of the system of the Protestant Church of England. Among the obligations under which the Puritans have laid their country, by no means the least is that they denounced and resisted this outrageous oath as a palpable infraction of the ancient rights of Englishmen. To Whitgift attaches the odium of constructing this engine of spiritual despotism. Its authority was practically unlimited and irresponsible. Power was given to visit and reform all errors, seditious books, false rumours, slanderous words, heresies, and schisms; to regulate all religious opinions; and to punish all breaches of the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity and similar measures. Since the time of Henry VIII., ecclesiastical courts were subject to inhibitions from the civil courts; and there had been not a few instances of protection being invoked with

success by persecuted and tormented victims. The Court of High Commission was expressly exempted from such control. It was not enrolled in Chancery, and its fines were not levied by ordinary process out of the Exchequer, lest the legality of the proceedings should be impugned. The real offences, such as absence from church, or alleged contempt of the ritual, or tendencies to heresy, were often disguised under the general but convenient charge of disturbance of the State.

High prelatical assumptions such as the above were viewed with concern by sagacious statesmen. Burghley noted, very significantly, in 1586, that the Jesuits flocked into and made converts in countries where the least preaching had been done. Bacon, writing to the Queen in 1584, while disclaiming concurrence in the opinions of the Puritans, called attention to their good work in diminishing the number of Papists by their careful catechising and diligent preaching. Burghley several times remonstrated with Whitgift, and with Aylmer, Bishop of London. The latter money-loving prelate was driven almost to distraction by the deserved severity of Burghley's rebuke for his officiousness and tyranny. Burghley made strong representations to the Queen; but her feminine temper was aroused, as well as her pride, in support of Whitgift. Not until the fire of his zeal was damped by the approach of old age did he moderate his fierce persecution of all who dared to differ from the High Anglican ritual. The judges signed and presented to Burghley and to Hatton a protest, setting forth in strong terms the harshness, cruelty, and illegality of the High Commission procedure; and, in response, they and other members of the Council addressed to Whitgift and Aylmer another letter of remonstrance. The judges, who have always displayed professional jealousy of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, began to encourage applicants who sought orders in restraint of the clerical courts. A few years later, in 1601, the power to send bishops' harpies to ransack houses and arrest citizens was successfully resisted. A pursuivant, in attempting to enter a house, was killed by the occupier; who was tried for murder. The judges decided that the warrant held by the dead man was illegal; that he had no right to

force admission; that the accused was justified in resisting; and that death occurred through misadventure. He was therefore discharged.

In one notable case the powers of the High Commission Court were exerted in vain. It failed, after rigid inquiry, to discover the authors of a series of fugitive publications, called by an expressive pseudonym, 'Martin Marprelate Tracts.' A common but unfounded conjecture ascribes them to John Penry. They are alien to his known temper and style. Probably they were written by Henry Barrowe, the Separatist, while in prison. The first one appeared in November, 1588. Seven or eight others, comprising two hundred and fifty pages in all, were issued during the next nine months; in defiance of the censorship. The Tracts are freely charged with wit, puns, broad jests, caricature, sarcasm, and invective of a bold, coarse kind; directed especially against four of the most odious of the prelates. The spirit and phraseology, passing sometimes into ribaldry and blasphemy, are highly reprehensible, judged by modern standards; but it is needful to remember the provocation, and the controversial usages of the times. People then knew nothing of modern persiflage; but were familiar with the style of Erasmus and Sir Thomas More; of Bishops Bale and Latimer; of Cervantes and Rabelais. The real attack was upon the system of ecclesiastical government; especially the High Commission Court, whose illegal procedure was fiercely assailed. The hierarchical pretensions of the bishops were ridiculed; their private character was exposed to obloquy; their public conduct was denounced; disgraceful and injurious tales were told of some of them; and others were reproached for lack of learning, for severity, greed, and nepotism. The Tracts were issued from a clandestine printing-press, which was removed from place to place with singular adroitness and rapidity; but was at length seized. How they were diffused, it is impossible to say, any more than the dissemination of Nihilist literature in Russia in modern times. Men read them with avidity; as the writings of Wycliffe, of Chaucer, of Swift, of Junius, and of Cobbett, were read. All attempts to suppress the guerilla warfare, and to furnish replies,

signally failed. Some playwrights of the baser sort were employed to write answers, for representation on the stage; but their scurrilous productions were of no avail.

The issue of the Marprelate Tracts led Bancroft (1544–1610), chaplain to Whitgift, to preach a sermon at Paul's Cross, in February, 1589, in which he boldly advanced the *jus divinum* of Episcopacy, and reflected with rigour on the Puritans for maintaining that bishops, or overseers, were identical with New Testament presbyters, and that these, with deacons, constituted the sole orders of ministry in the Primitive Church; the difference being only one of degree. The later and novel theory, so prolific of injustice and absurdity, was unknown to the Fathers of the Protestant Church of England. Cranmer held Wycliffe's opinion, that bishops were not a distinct order from the priesthood. He also maintained, what seems extraordinary and outrageous to modern Sacerdotalism, that the office lasted only during the life or the pleasure of the Sovereign conferring it. In the 'Necessary Erudition,' published in 1543, it is stated that "presbyters and deacons are the only two orders in the Christian ministry," and that "bishops are included in the former." A similar assertion occurs in 'The Institution of a Christian Man'; issued by authority in 1537. Cranmer's 'Catechism' of 1548 teaches a succession from the Apostles of bishops and priests, but says nothing of their mutual relations. Jewel, in his 'Apology,' holds that the priest is on a level with the bishop in everything except office. The Statute of 1571 made room for the admission to English parishes of ministers ordained abroad, according to other forms than those prescribed in the Prayer Book; provided that they subscribed the Articles. Such persons, in considerable numbers, were admitted during that reign, and down to the Act of Uniformity of 1662; though Laud did his utmost to prevent the practice, and succeeded for a time, by upholding the exclusive theory of Episcopacy. Richard Field (1561–1616), Dean of Gloucester, in his famous work on the Church, defends the sufficiency of foreign orders. "It was not," says Blunt," until the close of the seventeenth century that the distinction between the orders of bishops and priests was asserted."

Bancroft was supported by Thomas Bilson, Bishop of Worcester, and then of Winchester, who, in a book published in 1593, asserted Episcopacy to be the only Scriptural method of Church government, and Apostolical Succession to be essential to the existence of the Church. Hooker, in the following year, denied the latter point; contenting himself with the modest and reasonable statement that Episcopacy is the form most agreeable to Scripture. Whitgift is reported to have said that he wished the Divine Right theory were true; but that he knew it could not be maintained. Bancroft declared that bishops had supremacy over the clergy by such right, and were therefore empowered to superintend and regulate their proceedings. In the next generation, by an inevitable course of development, Episcopacy was declared to be the only Scriptural form. All who denied it were treated as heretics and outcasts. Such a pretence as the one urged by Bancroft was contested by the Puritans with all the zeal and learning for which many of them were distinguished. It became a rallying point for the two parties within the Church; but has long since gone the way of the allied figment of the Divine Right of Kingship; except with pedantic and archaic clerics, bent upon magnifying their order, and increasing their authority over the superstitious. Lord Bacon (1561–1629), with his serenity and judicial poise, watched the conflict. As a shrewd man of the world, he brushed away the side issues, and touched the essence of the dispute. He perceived the mistakes and abuses of the clerical party, and saw that their resistance to moderate and reasonable reform was giving rise to more sweeping demands. His practical sagacity detected the strength of religious conviction as a force that could not be repressed. He wished the rulers in Church and State to be wise in time, and by judicious concessions to prevent worse calamities. The Marprelate dispute moved him to write, for circulation in manuscript, 'An Advertisement touching the controversies of the Church of England'; first printed in 1640, when the Long Parliament was busy with similar questions. In his character of peacemaker, he traces the origin of the dispute to four main springs, viz., offering and accepting occasions for variance; extend-

ing and multiplying them; passionate and unbrotherly procedure on both sides; and the recourse of each to a stiffer union; thus heightening distraction. What use was made of this tractate is not known, nor what effect it produced; but any fair-minded Puritan of the time might well have contented himself with Bacon's statement of the case. He urges in his fifty-ninth 'Essay,'—"Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms than to reform abuses; to compound the smaller differences; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions; and rather to take off the principal authors by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness." This just and philosophic temper did not prevail. A magnificent opportunity for securing real Catholicity, on a liberal Protestant basis, was lost; to recur twice more, a century later, and then to vanish for ever.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE SEPARATISTS.

A.D. 1567–1603.

Another class of religionists was being evolved out of the ecclesiastical turmoil. They are commonly spoken of as Separatists, because they declined to attend the appointed places for worship. The meaning attached by themselves to the name was that they were "separated from the world." They were regarded, both by the Prelatical party and by the Puritans, as worse than Romanists; and were denounced as schismatics and public enemies. Fuller represents the official and popular view when he calls them "fierce, not to say furious, sticklers against Church discipline." They were assailed, in common with the Puritans, with characteristic virulence by that caustic, roystering, witty pamphleteer, Thomas Nash (1567–1600), in 'The Unfortunate Traveller, or, the Life of Jack Wilton'; the harbinger of the style of romance of which Defoe is the creator. Religion, in the

view of these despised and persecuted people, carrying out to its fullest extent the Calvinistic and Puritan essential principle, was the action of the individual moral and spiritual nature towards God, and was, in all cases, of Divine origin. Henry Barrowe, one of their ablest exponents, in spite of a self-consciousness that may seem to border on extreme egotism, thus defined their position :—"Christ's Church always consisteth of a holy, free people, separated from the world . . . but the people of the parish, and generally of the land, have not thus been separated from the wicked." Whatever may be thought of the apparent self-complacency of this definition, it explains the meaning and aims of the Separatists. With what they regarded as spiritual detachment from the world, they walked humbly with God, and lived in thought with the spirits of just men in all ages. John Greenwood, the friend and coadjutor of Barrowe, gave a similar explanation in 1586 before the High Commission Court. When asked whether the Church of England was a true Church of God, he replied,—"The whole Commonwealth is not a Church." He promptly gave a decisive negative to a further question,—"Is not the whole land, as now ordered, a true Church?"

It is not surprising, therefore, that Separatists were regarded as unreasonable, perverse, and contentious; exaggerating trifling matters; whimsical in their pertinacity; disloyal in their demands; obtruding morbid scruples; and keeping the realm in a ferment of petty squabbles on subjects of comparative indifference. The very Dissidence of Dissent has not infrequently led its votaries into a suspicious attitude; into narrow views; into the utterance of harsh and dogmatic judgments; and, sometimes, into what resembles Pharisaism, arising out of a fancied superiority. Too much stress, however, must not be laid upon the word Separatists; or it may lead to inconvenient conclusions. When Henry VIII. and the English Parliament assumed the ecclesiastical headship formerly exercised by the Popes, all the loyal people of the realm became Separatists from Rome; as was the case with the Reformers on the Continent. All Protestants, including the prelates, the clergy, and the members of the Church of England, are so regarded by

the Roman Curia at the present day. If such self-assertion on the part of the Separatists appears ludicrous, conceited, or even profane, it is needful to remember the special circumstances of antagonism, and also the proneness of the human mind to persevere with obstinacy when opposed or persecuted. If the Elizabethan prelates had wished to promote Nonconformity, they could scarcely have adopted more effectual means. Their rigidity served to intensify the opposition, and to give fixity to accidental differences. On the other hand, the central principle of the Separatists pre-supposed a condition of perfectibility unattainable by average men. Without questioning the sincerity and earnestness of those who would not conform, it is impossible to overlook the tendency referred to in resisting attempts to impose a tyranny. In every age of persecution, Jewish, Christian, or Pagan; Romish, Anglican, or Presbyterian; and under every form of government, coercive measures in matters of faith and worship are certain to arouse resentment, and to confirm disobedience to petty and unreasonable laws. A spirit of martyrdom may be provoked by arbitrary meddlesomeness. The line between conscience and prejudice is shadowy; and many a man has been driven to assert the former because the latter was needlessly outraged.

The most conspicuous fault of the Separatists was their intellectual narrowness; coupled with excessive dogmatism. They were the people; wisdom would die with them; and none but they knew the whole counsel of God. This was partly the result of their passionate protest against fallible human authority usurping a Divine prerogative; and partly the manifestation of a spirit then common to all sects, when each deemed it impossible to err, and equally impossible for any who differed to be in the right. By stress of circumstances, Separatists were brought into constant collision with Church authority; and they withstood it by reason of the tenacity of their own convictions. If their faith and confidence degenerated into what men called obstinacy, this was only natural. Doubt was regarded as mortal sin. This explains the method of their warfare. Hector dragged round the applauding field by Achilles is

a Pagan story that finds many a counterpart in Christian controversy. As Herbert Spencer shows in his 'Ecclesiastical Institutions,' there have been manifestations of Nonconformity from almost the earliest Christian times. A similar tendency to segregation appeared among the ancient Jews. The great religious systems of India and China have had from time immemorial their respective schools of thought; varying in forms of expression and in modes of outward observance. Human nature rebels against rigidity of type. Such tendencies are inevitable, in the nature of things. Wycliffe and Huss, Luther and Calvin, Cranmer and Knox, Wesley and Whitefield were, in a sense, Popes who issued edicts and demanded conformity. The Papal spirit is not restricted to the Seven Hills. The Presbyterian discipline was as despotic as that of Anglicanism. The New England Puritans and Congregationalists, excepting the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth and the Colony of Rhode Island, were as positive and intolerant as the Church from which they sought to escape by crossing the Atlantic.

It is important to discriminate between Puritans and Separatists. At the outset, and for many years, they had nothing in common on questions of ritual and church government, though substantially agreed on matters of doctrine. The Early Puritans strenuously opposed the Separatists, and repudiated all sympathy with their views, even while themselves smarting under the prelatical scourge for actual Nonconformity of another type. The Early Separatists also had not attained to such liberal opinions as were held subsequently. They maintained that the power of the magistrate ought to be used in favour of true religion; meaning thereby, it is needful to repeat, what they believed to be true. Barrowe and Greenwood wrote, in a joint epistle to Burghley:—"We acknowledge that the Prince ought to compel all subjects to the hearing of God's Word in the public exercises of the Church." Francis Johnson, a Cambridge graduate, and first pastor of the English Separatists in Amsterdam, wrote in 1596:—"Princes may and ought to abolish all false worship and all false ministries, and to establish the true worship and ministry appointed by God; commanding and compelling their subjects to come into and

practise no other but this." The Confession of Faith issued in the same year by Henry Ainsworth and Francis Johnson's Separatist Church teaches that magistrates ought to "suppress and root out by their authoritie all false ministeries, voluntarie Relligions, and counterfeyt worship of God; to establish and mayntein by their lawes every part of Gods Word, his pure Relligion and true ministerie; and to enforce al their Subjects, whether Ecclesiasticall or civile, to do their dutyes to God and men." It is extremely doubtful whether any of these Early Separatists were Congregationalists or Independents in the modern sense. Certainly they did not object to a National Church after their own pattern. They protested against being regarded as sectaries. Some of them, like Johnson, were not free from a strong official taint that might be called Sacerdotalism.

Long afterwards, as the result of sufferings patiently and nobly borne, the successors of these men learned to concede to others the toleration claimed for themselves. In the gradual development of the principles of religious liberty, they were destined also, like the Later Puritans, to take an important part in the battle for civil freedom. They were misunderstood and maligned; oppressed and persecuted; called by opprobrious names, and everywhere spoken against. Pragmatical officialism hated them, and had no argument but a prison or a halter. It is not easy to detect their rise or to trace their progress; any more than in the case of the Reformers before the Reformation. Fugitive tracts and declarations have mostly vanished, or they exist only in mutilated forms, with some rare exceptions. Entries in the Council Books and in Episcopal Registers, with faded letters among the State Papers, reveal the fact that in the early years of the reign little groups of people were occasionally arrested in secret and unauthorized meetings for worship. This was deemed specially obnoxious, as a violation of the Act of Uniformity; as a reflection upon the Act of Supremacy; and as partaking of the nature of both sedition and heresy. Such conduct was supposed to be inimical to the maintenance of public order, and to that implicit obedience which was held to be the primary duty of subjects. No cry was so fatal to an unpopular

man in ancient Greece or Rome as that of alleged impiety towards the gods.

Strype gives, in his 'Memorials,' and in his 'Life of Cranmer,' a somewhat vague reference to the Foxe MSS. and to the Council Book, as to what may be deemed rudimentary forms of Separatism in England, about the year 1550; when groups of persons in London, Maidstone, Faversham, Bocking, and other places met in private houses, usually on week-days, to listen to preaching and to discuss portions of the Scriptures. Occasional traces occur in the reign of Mary; becoming obscure for a time, or wholly vanishing, like an underground stream. Of several seizures mentioned, one occurred at Islington, in 1557, when John Rough, described as the minister, and Cuthbert Symson the deacon, were arrested and burned. Thomas Lever, one of the Protestant exiles, returning in 1559 from Zurich to London, wrote to Bullinger that he found large numbers then assembling in private houses, as they had done for years; and his statement is confirmed by other writers. The earliest official entry in Elizabeth's reign occurs in June, 1567, when a number of persons were seized for not attending their parish churches; meeting instead by stealth for Separatist worship. Twenty-four men and seven women remained in Bridewell more than a year. Others perished in the horrible country gaols. In a spirit of irony that would be ludicrous if it were not so cruel, the High Commission Court ordered some eminent Puritan clergymen, themselves charged with Nonconformity, to hold conferences with the Separatists immured in the London prisons, and endeavour to induce them to conform to the established order of worship. Among the Domestic Series of State Papers of 1571 (Vol. xx. No. 107), is an address to the Queen, signed by twenty-seven Separatists, asking her to set forth the true Word of God, and to cut down, root out, and utterly destroy all monuments of idolatry. The petition adds that the Canon Law had killed Richard Fitz, their minister, and many others, and that the walls of the city prisons could testify the Divine anger against such unjust persecution. Two black-letter fly-sheets are enclosed in the document; one, "setting forth the true marks of

Christ's Church," and the other giving a statement of reasons for their Nonconformity, with Scripture proofs. Judging from this plaintive statement, many had perished miserably in the crowded and fetid London prisons; huddled together, men, women, and children, in small, low cells, often reeking with damp and swarming with vermin; without fire in winter; or any food, except that given by charity or bought at exorbitant prices. In 1577, at Oxford Assizes, the prisoners brought such a stench into Court as to breed a pestilence which proved fatal in forty hours to three judges, the sheriff, most of the jurymen and lawyers, and about three hundred other persons. Similar catastrophes are recorded during several centuries.

The Brownists were contemptuously named after Robert Browne (1550–1630), a clergyman of good family and a kinsman of Burghley's. He was educated at Cambridge; became identified with the Puritans; and then withdrew altogether from the Church. In 1580, he was preaching in and around Norwich, where numerous Protestant refugees from the Netherlands were settled. Their influence, and especially that of the Anabaptists, as is thought by some, is traceable in the doctrines promulgated by him. Whether he deliberately adopted their views, or unconsciously imbibed them, or formulated them for himself, cannot now be determined; but he has the merit of stating them with clearness and force. He taught, as others had done before him, that the Church is a company of believing Christians, who, by a willing covenant with God, are under the Divine government; that its only officers are pastors, teachers, elders, deacons, and widows; that it ought to separate from all wilful, grievous offenders; and that "civil magistrates have no ecclesiastical authority at all, but only as other Christians, if they be such." Browne declared that "the Kingdom of God was not to be begun by whole parishes, but rather by the worthiest, were they never so few." His conception of Church government was not a democracy, but the absolute monarchy of Christ; subject to whom each community managed its own internal affairs. Such teaching was

certain to arouse opposition from the Council and the prelates, as subversive of the absolutist theories then in vogue, and as sedition of the rankest kind. Edmund Freake, Bishop of Norwich, silenced, though he did not convince Browne, after the customary fashion of ruling authorities, by putting him in prison. He once said that he had been an inmate of thirty-two gaols; in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day. Through Burghley's influence he was released, and went to Holland in 1581; settling in Middleburgh over a small congregation of Separatist exiles. After two years he ventured back, and went to Scotland, where the Presbyterians opposed and persecuted him. Through some unexplained circumstances, he recanted; embraced his original views; and resumed his ministry in the Church of England. He was appointed rector of Achurch, near Oundle, where he continued forty years. There is reason to believe that his mind became impaired through his prolonged sufferings. He died in Northampton gaol, where he was confined, as is alleged, for striking the constable of his parish. Later tradition has embellished an unfavourable account written by Fuller. The leading Separatists refused to own themselves as Browne's followers; and repudiated every attempt to connect their movement with the odium of his name.

Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood were Cambridge graduates, well connected, who left the Church from conviction, and became identified with the poor and despised Separatists. Their theory differed from Browne's, in holding that separate Churches should be controlled by an Eldership within, chosen by the people, who were then to yield implicit obedience. Like most theories, it presupposed an impossible human perfection, and led to many unhappy disputes. Barrowe and Greenwood were arrested in November, 1586, for holding unlawful services, and were repeatedly examined by the High Commission, but refused to take the *ex officio* oath. They were immured in the Fleet prison, with one short interval, until March, 1593, when they were tried at the Old Bailey on a nominal charge of sedition and blasphemy, but really for denying the Queen's supremacy in ecclesiastical

matters. No member of the bar dared to undertake their defence, and they were interrupted and browbeaten by the judges when they attempted to speak for themselves. Twice they were brought out for execution, but were reprieved, in the hope that, by recanting, their cause might be damaged. Remaining steadfast, they were hanged at Tyburn on the sixth of April; praying with their last breath for the Queen, out of whose realm they were being hurried as unfit to live. They were by no means perfect men; yet honest and sincere. As disputants, they sometimes wrote with acerbity; but controversy was then carried on with bitterness and personalities. When interrogated, they did not always answer with gentleness and respect; which is not surprising, in the remembrance of their inhuman treatment. They addressed two letters to Burghley, in November, 1590, setting forth what they suffered at the hands of the bishops; contrary to the law of the land; which they besought him to uphold. They asked to be allowed to confer with their adversaries, and to have the points in dispute decided by Scripture. Burghley replied that he liked not their cause or their writings; one of which was 'A True Description out of the Word of God of the Visible Church'; the earliest known Separatist Creed or Confession.

The fact was that while Burghley had compassion for Puritans, and intervened repeatedly on their behalf, he failed to understand these despised Separatists, who offered to demonstrate that "when the Pope was expelled by her Majesty's progenitor, his ministry and orders, which came out of the smoke of the bottomless pit, were still set up, instead of Christ's ministry"; and that they "must by the Prince be abolished, that God's wroth be not kindled against the whole land." All this sounded like fanatical raving or seditious threats; and filled Burghley with astonishment and indignation. In similar terms, and in the highly metaphorical language of that day, and with a personal and dogmatic application of Scripture that was too common, Barrowe compared Whitgift, to his face, to the Second Beast spoken of in the Book of the Revelation; adding,—"He is a monster; a miserable compound; I know not what to

make of him ; he is neither ecclesiastical nor civil." He absolutely refused to acknowledge Aylmer as a prelate. Both of them had exhibited a merciless spirit. Whitgift, in particular, acted liked a Torquemada ; and Aylmer was as greedy of gain as Simon Magus. Barrowe describes his examiners as having "such an appearance of well-fed priests as might have beseemed the Vatican." Refusing to take the incriminating oath, and asking that witnesses against him should be produced, both of which perfectly legal positions were angrily denied to Barrowe, he says that Whitgift, losing his temper, exclaimed,—"Where is his keeper? You shall not prattle here. Away with him! Clap him up close! close! I will make him tell another tale yet." In his written record of these proceedings, with calm assurance that admitted not the possibility of mistake, Barrowe adds :—"The Lord pardon my fault that I laid him"—Aylmer—"not open for a wolf, a bloody persecutor, and an apostate ; but by that time the warden's man was plucking me up" ; that is, from his knees, as was then the custom with all persons brought before the Council. Full details concerning the two men, and the movement with which they were identified, are given by Dr. H. M Dexter in his work on Congregationalism.

It is needful to remember, while deploring their lack of sweet reasonableness, and their narrow and dogmatic spirit, the cruel and illegal treatment to which Barrowe and his associates were subjected ; their long imprisonment for more than six years in dark and foul dungeons ; their badgering by a Court that was at once accuser, witness, cross-examiner, and judge ; the unscrupulous attempts to fasten upon them charges of factiousness and treason ; the unquestioned purity of their lives ; and their testimony, consistently borne, even to death. Of a gentler disposition, and yet possessing faith and courage equally resolute, was John Penry (1559–1593). He studied at both Universities, and obtained distinction as a scholar. He wished to devote himself to the work of an evangelist in his native country of Wales ; but becoming identified first with the Puritans and then with the Separatists, he was an object of suspicion with the prelatical party. He, too, was arrested, and, as he

refused the oath, was tried on a charge of sedition, based on the rough draft of an unpresented petition to the Queen, found among his papers, praying for the redress of ecclesiastical abuses and for license to preach the Gospel in Wales. He was hanged in the Old Kent-road, May 29, 1593, in his thirty-fourth year; leaving a wife and four small children, to whom he wrote some pathetic letters from his prison. His brave and simple words, addressed to Burghley just before his death, still vibrate with noble feeling. In his case, nearly a century before the judicial murder of Algernon Sidney, a precedent was set that private unpublished papers could be twisted into evidence of overt crime. Numerous other Separatists were imprisoned, and some were hanged. Their fate was as mournful and certain as that of the long procession of victims over the Bridge of Sighs at Venice. At one time, fifty-nine who were confined in different London prisons, made touching appeals to the Queen and Council. Ten of their number, they wrote, had died of starvation, of cold, or of gaol-fever. One had been in duress for twenty-two weeks; another, for twenty-eight; a third, for sixteen months; a fourth, for five years; and others for intervening periods. They were closely immured among criminals of the deepest dye; "the most infectious and lewd wretches in all the world." Bail was refused; nor were they brought to trial. Their trade was ruined, and their families were in dire distress. They avowed their willingness to suffer, and even to die, if it could be shown that they were wrong-doers; but they urged the inconsistency of being treated by the Reformed Church as Protestants had been treated in the preceding reign by Romanists.

Nothing came of this pitiful appeal, save harsher treatment and more arrests. With strange inconsistency, the prelates would tolerate no diversity of opinion. They had separated from Rome; but permitted no separation from themselves. The slightest divergence from the legal standards of belief and ritual was accounted heresy and felony. The Separatists were, admittedly, exemplary in domestic life; honest in their callings; good citizens, and patriotic. Their loyalty was almost romantic in its exuberance. Yet the weary and futile round of suppres-

sion went on. Other measures having failed, a Statute was passed in 1593, entitled, 'An Act to maintain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due obedience.' It went beyond the provisions of the Second Act of Uniformity of 1552, and is commonly known as the Conventicle Act; the precursor of the one passed in 1664. Any persons above sixteen, obstinately refusing to go to Church for a month together, or dissuading others from attendance, or denying the Royal Supremacy, or being present at any unlawful conventicle, were to be imprisoned until they conformed and signed a prescribed recantation that was ludicrous in its abject meanness. Refusal entailed banishment; with the forfeiture of all property. Returning without leave was punishable with death. Such a sentence of banishment was a casting forth upon the wide world, at a time when national lines were more rigid, and when national antipathies and jealousies were much stronger than is known at the present day. The Statute was enforced with rigour during the remainder of the reign. Hundreds of exiles for conscience' sake sought refuge on the Continent; but chiefly in Holland. Their condition was one of struggling, grinding poverty; mitigated only by hard toil, and by the generous aid of the few who possessed wealth. They went from a monarchy where the authority of the Crown was practically unlimited, to a country where the people had long been accustomed to self-rule. The reflex influence is shown in the following Chapter, and the after effects are narrated in the fiftieth and the fifty-sixth Chapters.

The unintended result of driving forth the Separatists was to plant nurseries of English freedom abroad; destined to prove fatal to Tudor and Stuart notions of political and spiritual supremacy. Wholesome neglect of mere trivialities would have been the wiser course; but persecutors are seldom sagacious, nor are their victims always prudent. After making full allowance for the perversities, the narrowness, and the fanaticism mixed with Separatist tenets, it must be admitted that the protests and assertions, the sufferings and constancy under persecution, wrought together at last to ensure great results for the cause of freedom. Besides those

already mentioned, two Dutch Anabaptists suffered death in Smithfield, in 1575; partly for their religious views, but chiefly for holding that the civil government had no concern with spiritual matters. Matthew Hament, or Hammond, was burned at Norwich, in 1579; John Copping, a shoemaker, and Elias Thacker, a tailor, two Brownists, were hanged at Bury St. Edmunds, in 1583, and William Dennis, at Thetford, in the same year. John Lewis and Francis Kett were burned at Norwich in 1584 and 1589; also for Nonconformity. The names of Roger Rippon and of sixteen other Separatists are recorded as having perished in Newgate during the next five years; but there is no enumeration of the hundreds whose lives were embittered and shortened, whose temporal prospects were hopelessly blighted, and whose families endured untold agonies of suspense and anxiety by the prolonged incarceration of the bread-winners. These are sufferings which no statistics can tabulate.

The number of Romanists in England during the last twenty years of the reign, and throughout that of James, showed a rapid decrease; owing, in part, to severe penal laws, but, in a far greater measure, to the temper and the attitude of the Jesuits and Seminary priests. That period witnessed the first appearance in the country of a new and devoted band of helpers in the interests of the Papal See. Pope Paul III. (b. 1468, r. 1534–1549) issued a Bull, September 27, 1540, establishing the Society of Jesus. It was founded six years previously by Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556), a noble Spaniard, who occupies in the great Catholic revival after the Reformation, a position similar to that of Luther at an earlier day in the cause of Protestanism. One of the earliest adherents was Francis Xavier (1506–1552), the illustrious missionary to the Indies and to Japan; a Christian hero of an Apostolic type. The leading rules of the Order were that a General should be chosen for life, whom every member was bound to obey implicitly, as he obeyed God; and that besides the regular monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, he must promise to go wherever he was commanded, without demur or delay. The duties consisted in preaching; in the direction of

consciences; in the education of youth; in the defence of the Catholic faith against heretics, and in its propagation among the heathen. The Order spread with rapidity. At the death of Loyola, it had more than a thousand members and a hundred schools in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Germany; besides numerous missionaries in the East, in Africa, and in South America. Rome, with unfailing astuteness, as in the case of the Monks and Friars, welcomed the new allies. Largely owing to their efforts at the Council of Trent, a formal decree established as an article of faith the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope; leaving the question of infallibility in matters of doctrine to be settled in the future. Mainly through their influence, the Church of Rome was purged of the grosser scandals which had brought about the Reformation. For nearly two hundred years the Jesuits took out of the enervated hands of the secular clergy the work of the education of youth, and the spiritual and moral control of Catholic communities; until, with altered conditions, new movements arose, like the Encyclopédists in France, to supersede them. Meanwhile, the latest body of recruits for Rome, with zeal and efficiency, and with growing numbers and influence, became a menace to civil authority. In the eighteenth century they were banished from France, Portugal, and other countries, as being inimical to law and order. Pope Clement XIV. suppressed them in 1773; but they were revived by Pius VII. in 1814. Jesuitism has come to have a sinister meaning, because usually regarded as synonymous with the pernicious doctrine that the end justifies the means, and with the system of equivocation and mental reserve so ruthlessly exposed in 1655 by Blaise Pascal's 'Lettres Provinciales.'

The Romanist martyrs of Elizabeth's reign are stated by Charles Dodd, in his 'Church History,' at one hundred and ninety-one; and in Thomas Milner's at two hundred and four. Only three of these victims suffered prior to 1581. Down to that time, the Government was patient and tolerant towards them, to a degree that may appear surprising when the treatment of Puritans and Separatists is considered; excepting for the fact that High Anglicans have always cherished a covert regard for

their ecclesiastical cousins-german. The Seminary Priests sent forth from the Jesuit College founded at Douai in 1568, and from the one in Rome, were consumed by zeal that amounted to fanaticism. They courted danger and welcomed death in their efforts to restore and extend the ancient faith. Ere long, more than a hundred enthusiasts were at work in England, braving persecution, imprisonment, torture, and martyrdom. The two principal agents were Robert Parsons and Edward Campion, formerly Fellows of Balliol and of St. John's College, Oxford; both of whom were hanged, after suffering horrible and disgraceful treatment which failed to shake their constancy. They and their associates not only sought to restore the old religion, but they intrigued for the Spanish succession to the throne, and for the subjugation of England to the Pope by force of arms. The zealots proclaimed war to the knife, and detested all toleration or compromise, such as the bulk of the national clergy had accepted. As a result, there was intense animosity and rivalry. The extraordinary spectacle was presented of the two classes of priests indulging in bitter recriminations and rivalries, which operated for nearly half a century, and contributed to the salvation of England. The effects of this movement have failed to be appreciated by most investigators. The Catholic laity of England would not countenance a scheme of foreign conquest. Rumours of plots to invade the country, and to assassinate the Queen and her Ministers, were rife; but served only to arouse a national sentiment against the plotters and the system which they embodied. Walsingham (1536–1590), the astute Secretary of State, had agents and spies abroad, through whom the threads of every conspiracy came into his hands. It was commonly said that he heard in London what was whispered in the ear in Rome. He counteracted the Jesuits with a craft that matched their own. He was noted for his skill in reading ciphers, and for his patience in tracking plots. The discovery of Francis Throgmorton's Plot in January, 1584, led to Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, being ordered to leave England. Moderate men recoiled when they perceived that they would be involved in treason. As they grew more loyal, the Jesuit faction became more

obstinate in attachment to Spain, indulged in wilder dreams of subjugation, and came over in larger numbers, defying prohibitions, and risking arrest, mutilation, and death. The internal schism between the Jesuits and the secular clergy proved fatal. It threatened grave political complications during some years ; but a deliverance was at hand.

The patriotism of the people rose to every emergency. A great change in public opinion must have taken place since the beginning of the reign, and Catholic sentiment must have become weakened, or the Council, with no standing army at its back, could never have enforced such severe repressive measures. It has been customary to assert that the Jesuits suffered death, and that many more were persecuted in various ways, not for their religious tenets, but because they were bad citizens ; that political exigencies and the defence of the State, not religious intolerance, dictated the severe measures. Walsingham issued an elaborate defence of the policy of the Government ; and another is ascribed to Burghley ; but the reasons adduced in them cannot be deemed adequate. The statesmen of that day were confronted by grave dangers, however, and must be judged by the circumstances. Rome menaced England ; declared the Queen excommunicated and her throne vacant ; and unscrupulously used its vast ecclesiastical and political power for the overthrow of every Protestant country. Spain and France were eagerly watching an opportunity for mischief, under cover of a Holy War. The malice of the former was soon to be displayed in the Armada. What France was prepared to do had been shown by the cowardly slaughter of the Huguenots in Paris, on the night of St Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572 ; when it was said that five hundred persons of rank, including the brave Admiral Coligny, and ten thousand of their adherents, were butchered in cold blood. This was followed by a general massacre of Protestants—to the number, as was alleged, of between twenty and thirty thousand—in the chief provincial cities. A Te Deum was sung in Rome, and a year of jubilee was proclaimed by Pope Gregory XIII. (b. 1502, r. 1572–1585), in commemoration of the awful deed. The horror caused by it, and by the

contemporary stories of the Duke of Alva's cruelty in the Netherlands, where the people were nobly striving for escape from Spanish domination, helped to intensify the feeling of alarm and hatred with which England regarded all attempts against her liberties on the part of France and Spain; backed by the spiritual artillery of Rome.

CHAPTER XLV.

CONTESTS WITH SPAIN; AND THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA.

A.D. 1561–1603.

MARY, Queen of Scots (1542–1587), daughter of the hapless James V., was left a widow at eighteen by the death of her boy-husband, Francis II. of France, in December, 1560. Her grandmother was sister to Henry VIII., and her pretensions to the English throne were regarded as being stronger than Elizabeth's by those who thought the latter to be illegitimate and a heretic, and who contemned the Act of Succession of 1534. This explains the jealousy entertained by the Queen, and the ceaseless suspicion and ill-will of her Protestant subjects towards Mary. Her life had been spent in France; the affairs of Scotland being administered by a Council of powerful nobles and prelates, who intrigued and struggled for personal ends and for the triumph of their respective factions. Her speech, habits, tastes, and religion were alien to those of the people over whom she nominally ruled. Graceful, fascinating, luxurious, selfish, and utterly unprincipled, the spoiled beauty, with her French veneer of culture and refinement, could not conceal her disgust for the semi-barbarism of her nobles, for the rough burghers of Edinburgh, and, least of all, for the stern and rugged piety of men like that typical Scotch Puritan, John Knox (1505–1572). A fierce persecution had waged under the haughty, cruel, and licentious Cardinal Beaton (1494–1546), whose burning of Patrick Hamilton, of George Wishart, and of other Reformers was avenged by his own murder and mutilation at St. Andrew's.

Knox concurred in and openly justified this deed of blood; in the spirit of the old Hebrew prophets. Captured by the French at the siege of St. Andrew's, and made to serve in the galleys at Rouen for two years, he returned to Scotland in 1559, after thirteen years' exile; first in England and then in Switzerland. Under his marvellous sway, the Scottish Parliament overthrew the old religion and set up the Reformed Kirk on a rigid Calvinistic basis. Presbyterianism, on the Genevan model, both in doctrine and in polity, was firmly established; only, as in England, the nobles retained for themselves most of the wealth of the Church; to the indignation of Knox and his associates. The Protestant leaders united, under his influence, in the first of the Solemn Covenants which render memorable the political and religious struggles of Scotland.

The son of a plain yeoman, Knox never forgot or was ashamed of his origin. He cared for neither rank nor wealth; but appealed to and relied upon the common people. He made them a power in the land; and with them he won mighty victories. The original 'Confession of Faith' and the 'First Book of Discipline' bear the impress of his master-mind. He was far from attaining all his wishes in the ecclesiastical settlement, and soon found that many of the nobles were more zealous for destruction and for personal gain than for the Reformation. Yet he achieved a great work in laying broad and deep foundations for later builders to rear the superstructure. Mary's siren smiles, her fascinating manners, her blandishments, her sensuous beauty, her feminine tact and sparkling French wit, were brought to bear in vain upon the sturdy, incorruptible, and unflinching Reformer. He has left a graphic though severe account of his stormy interviews with her; of his stern rebukes and her clever but angry parries and retorts; of the wearisome services and dogmatic discourses of portentous length to which she had to listen; all of which she deemed ridiculous, where they were not, to her, heretical; and of the prolonged struggle which terminated only with his life. Over his grave in St. Giles', Edinburgh, the Regent Morton (1530–1581) uttered the well-known eulogy,—"Here lies one who never feared the face of

man." He certainly never swerved from what he believed to be the truth; though he displayed more of the spirit of law than the spirit of love or of moderation. He could be hard, unrelenting, and even brutal; under a sense of what he held to be duty. Like all imperious natures, he was conscious of power, and could not brook resistance or tolerate weakness. From first to last, he resolutely adhered to the position taken in the pamphlet issued by him when in Geneva, under the ponderous title of 'The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment'—*i.e.*, Government—'of Women.' It was designed as an attack, in the first place, upon the policy which had been introduced by the Emperor Charles V., in appointing women to govern the Netherlands, because of the failure of males in his family; but the attack was also directed against the superstition of hereditary right, and especially against Queen Mary of England and the Queen Regent of Scotland. Knox has one strong claim to renown. He brought from Switzerland the idea of a system of national elementary education, as the surest basis for a State, and as the strongest bulwark of Protestantism. Under his guidance, schools were widely established. The work was carried on and extended by his illustrious successor, Andrew Melville (1545–1622); a man of consummate ability, boldness of character, and fertility of resource; who had passed ten studious years on the Continent. In 1575, he revived the University of Glasgow, and, at a later period, that of St. Andrew's; both of which became renowned for their solid methods and wide range of instruction; including the study of the best Greek authors. Scotland owes much of her deserved reputation all the world over to the systems of elementary and of higher education thus initiated, and never abandoned.

Mary Stuart returned to her own country the year after her widowhood. The place and the people are vividly described in Masson's 'Edinburgh Sketches and Memories.' In 1565, failing various matrimonial schemes on the part of nearly all the royal families of Europe, she married her cousin, Lord Darnley; grandson of Margaret Tudor by her second husband, the Earl of Angus. Darnley was a youth of nineteen; four years

Mary's junior; and nothing more than a handsome, vain, petulant, dissipated fool; styled by Carlyle "a booby who had fine legs." She soon wearied of him, as he did of her; and she is supposed, on strong presumptive evidence, to have connived at his lodging being blown up by gunpowder, to hide his assassination; for his body bore no marks of fire. She never forgave his supposed complicity in the murder of her Italian favourite, David Rizzio. Thirteen weeks afterwards, in May, 1567, she married the Earl of Bothwell; a coarse, bold, unscrupulous man, whom common report openly accused of coming red-handed from the murder of Darnley. Then followed, in swift succession, a confederacy of nobles for avenging Darnley and for securing the infant prince, afterwards James VI.; who was crowned at Stirling on the twenty-ninth of July. Mary, being left almost alone, was forced to abdicate, and threw herself on the protection of the English governor of Carlisle. She wrote to Elizabeth, imploring aid, but was denied; nor would the Queen ever see her. She was kept in captivity in various places, and finally at Fotheringay, for nineteen years, until the tragical end came, February 8, 1587. There had been several conspiracies to place her on the English throne. France and Spain were continually intriguing to this end. How far she was involved in the plots cannot now be determined, but Parliament and the statesmen of the time regarded her as a menace to the peace of the country. There was a formal trial under a Statute of 1585, "for the surety of the Queen's person," and Mary was condemned and beheaded; Davison, the Puritan Secretary of State, being made to bear the odium of what Elizabeth chose to represent as an accident. Mary forms the central figure in Scott's 'Monastery,' and in 'The Abbot.'

Another danger was threatening England; springing out of its fierce rivalry with Spain for the Empire of the West. From Southampton, Bristol, Plymouth, and other ports in the South-West, adventurous seamen had gone forth to the New World across the Atlantic and to the Guinea Coast of Africa; bringing back fabulous accounts of barbaric splendour and of vast natural resources.

Other bold and hardy men sought a North-East or a North-West passage to India. Wealthy merchants, hoping for large profits in return for the risk, advanced the necessary outlay for these expeditions, and for others that were planned to attack the Spanish Main; as the extensive plunder-field was designated, from the Caribbean Sea to the coast of Venezuela. All that Elizabeth did, with one or two exceptions of niggardly advances of money and loans of vessels, was to grant licenses to adventurers and buccaneers, to be revoked or repudiated at pleasure; in return for which she stipulated for a considerable portion of the gains. The enormous wealth derived by Spain from her Transatlantic possessions also awakened the cupidity of the French, the Portuguese, the Netherlanders, and other nations; but a further motive operated in the case of England. Philip was known to cherish designs for the annexation of the country. His hatred of the English as heretics, his jealousy of them as rivals on the sea, and the remembrance of his unpopularity during his brief residence, made him eager for conquest; which they were as determined to prevent. He declared that their turn would come as soon as he had extirpated Protestantism from his own dominions with fire and sword. He intrigued with Mary, Queen of Scots; he encouraged Ireland in rebellion; and he persecuted English merchants and seamen who fell into his clutches; starving or torturing them to death in the dungeons of the Inquisition, or burning them at the stake. They, or, at any rate, the Protestants among them, regarded him as the incarnation of Popish tyranny and cruelty, as well as of Spanish pride and exclusiveness. To attack his colonial possessions, and to intercept the galleons or treasure-ships on their annual voyage from South America to Spain, gratified at once a love for daring adventure, a hope of gain, and a burning desire for revenge upon the arch-enemy of their country. Hannibal's oath, never to be at peace with Rome, was not more binding than the resolve of the English to humble the pride and to break the power of Spain. There were numbers of bold men, ready for any scheme that required dash and energy, with the superadded prospect of plunder. They saw in the distant lands on

the Pacific coast an El Dorado waiting to be wrested from the Spaniards; whose exclusive pretensions, founded on a mere grant from the Pope, no Englishman could tolerate or would acknowledge. Charles Kingsley, in 'Westward Ho!' has covered a broad canvas with bold figures in vivid colours.

To Sir John Hawkins (1520-1595) attaches the infamy of commencing the English slave-trade, in 1562, by kidnapping three hundred negroes in Africa, to be deported to St. Domingo, and sold there to the Spaniards. He did it as a matter of business. No objection was then raised on the score of morality. It had the sanction of the Church. Bishop Las Casas (1474-1566) encouraged similar transactions by the Spaniards and Portuguese, on the ground that it was good for the souls of the negroes, instead of leaving them to kill and devour one another! Hawkins was not more enlightened than the Bishop, or than the rest of his countrymen at that time. As an historical fact, to him is owing a traffic in human flesh that went on for three centuries: first under English and then under American auspices. With the proceeds of the negro sales he bought a cargo of hides for Madrid; where they were confiscated, and all future trade was forbidden. Not that Philip objected to the slave-trade, but he was determined to exclude all Englishmen from his American territories. Angry at his loss, Hawkins determined to try another venture. With the aid of friends a second expedition was equipped; including the "Jesus," one of the ships of the Royal Navy, a vessel of seven hundred tons. Francis Drake (1545-1596), then a youth of nineteen, and a kinsman of Hawkins, joined the little flotilla; which sailed in October, 1564, for the African coast, seized four hundred negroes, carried them across the Atlantic, and again found a ready sale, in spite of orders. Hawkins explored the coast Northwards; returning home, after an absence of eleven months, to pay the Queen and his other partners sixty per cent. profit on their venture. Hawkins and Drake, both of whom were afterwards knighted, with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, half-brother to Ralegh, and others, stand out prominently in the pages of Hakluyt, and in the Colonial State Papers, among those who embarked on the daring enterprise of

"singeing the King of Spain's beard"; as Drake said. With or without letters of marque, they set forth, like the Scandinavian Vikings of a thousand years before, to annex such portable property as could be seized. Of the morality of the transaction, the less that is said the better. Even in modern times, the interval is short and the line is shadowy between privateering and piracy.

Some ships, laden with half a million of ducats, borrowed by Philip of Genoese bankers, who undertook delivery in Antwerp, were driven into Plymouth harbour by stress of weather, and to escape from the privateers who swarmed the narrow seas. The money was landed and sent to London by road, and the Genoese agent lent it to the Queen on higher terms and on better security. He had no choice between this and confiscation. Half was used for the Navy, and half was sent to aid the Prince of Orange in the revolt of the Netherlands from Spain; though that country and England were not actually at war. Nor was Philip in a position to declare it; for his hands were full in the Netherlands, but an embargo was instantly laid upon English vessels there and in Spain. English residents were arrested and consigned to the galleys or to the dungeons of Seville, and their property was confiscated. Swift retaliation was exacted from Spanish subjects in London. An arrangement was therefore patched up; but the indignities and losses were not forgotten on either side. Resentment was cherished until an opportunity came for revenge. These bold sea-rovers feared God after some fashion; of the ancient Samaritan kind. Hawkins issued sailing-orders to his crews in 1565, the closing words of which resemble Cromwell's style:—"Serve God daily; love one another; preserve your victuals; beware of fire; and keep good company." The ships commonly carried a chaplain; of a militant order. One of them assured Drake that he might lawfully reimburse himself for damages sustained in the Hawkins expedition at the hands of the Spaniards; and Drake was easily persuaded that everything appertaining to them was legitimate spoil. As Fuller says,—"The case was clear by sea-divinity; and few are such infidels as not to believe doctrines which make for their own profit." These

Elizabethan sea-captains are worthy of forming the theme of a great English national epic; as thrilling as the Odyssey. They were a daring, venturesome, courageous race of men; fertile in resource and prompt in action; not afraid of doing for their Queen and country, at their own risk, what officers with regular commissions would only do under specific instructions when war was formally declared. They dispensed with the personal security afforded by the Sovereign's formal consent; knowing that their raids against Spain would be connived at, if not openly approved; and that much gain, as well as renown, would accrue to themselves; although they faced the certainty of being tortured, hanged, or burned if they were taken prisoners.

Drake set forth, December 13, 1577, from Plymouth, keeping his own counsel, but resolved to sail across the Pacific, which he had seen from the Isthmus of Panama on a former voyage. After a series of successful exploits among the West India islands and along the Spanish Main, Drake, with one small vessel and eighty men, though abandoned by the rest of his company, rounded Cape Horn, and commenced his wonderful circumnavigation of the globe, which occupied nearly three years. He was the second to accomplish this feat; Magellan having preceded him sixty years before. The narratives of both these enterprises, with Ralegh's expedition to Guiana, and various voyages to Russia, India, China, and elsewhere at the close of that century, are given in the publications of the Hakluyt Society. Drake touched along the coast of what is now known as California and Oregon. From that time until the year 1770 those regions had no European inhabitants; excepting the southern portion of California, in Mexico, which was first settled by Jesuit missionaries in 1697. Drake took nominal possession of the coast in the name of the Queen, and called it Nova Albion; but nothing came of it. He returned to Plymouth, September 26, 1580, after marvellous adventures and hair-breadth escapes, but laden with a million and a half of booty; chiefly captured from Spanish vessels which he had rifled and sunk, or from Spanish settlements across the sea which he had looted. The plunder was laid up in the

Jewel House of the Tower. Never was such a spectacle again witnessed by the country-side, until the procession of thirty-eight waggons brought from Portsmouth to London, in 1657, the million and more of booty captured also from the Spaniards by Admiral Blake.

When Drake returned, Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, demanded a surrender of the treasure; but was told that the Government could not acknowledge the right of Spain to all the country of America. Mendoza threatened that "matters would come to the cannon" unless such freebooting acts were punished. Elizabeth told him, as he reported to his master, "quietly, in her most natural voice, as if she were telling a common story, that if I used threats of that kind, she would fling me into a dungeon." Undoubtedly, she would have done this, without hesitation, as Mendoza knew, and as her people were delighted to know. According to Stow, some persons "divulged all possible disgrace against Drake and his followers; deeming him the master thief of the unknown world; nevertheless, the people generally, with exceeding admiration, applauded his wonderful long adventures and rich prize." After a brief rest, this bold corsair, with a flotilla of small vessels, none larger than a modern collier brig, and reinforced by many young adventurers and needy hangers-on of the Court, with their keen appetite for plunder, and unscrupulous in the mode of satisfying it, again set forth to rob and worry the Spaniards. He continued to do so for years; one of his most venturesome and successful raids being in 1585, when the coasts of Florida and of Cuba were devastated, the cities of St. Domingo and Carthagena were burned, and enormous booty was taken. It is commonly supposed that tobacco was first brought into England by Hawkins, or by some of the settlers who returned with Drake in 1586 from the feeble colony which Ralegh had planted in the vast but undefined district named after the Queen, as Virginia; under a royal patent granted in March, 1584. Tobacco was certainly known in France and in the Low Countries as early as 1560, though it was by no means in general use in England until Ralegh set the fashion and made it popular. He is credited with having introduced the

potato from the region afterwards known as North Carolina, through some of his agents ; and with having first imported mahogany from Guiana.

It is not surprising that the exploits of Drake caused him to be regarded with superstitious dread by his enemies ; who declared that he was not a man, but a magician, or an incarnate devil. That prolific Spanish writer, Lope de Vega (1502–1635), who took part in the Armada, composed an epic, 'The Dragontea' ; playing upon Drake's name, and depicting him as the dragon or serpent in the Apocalypse. His deeds were described in heroic fashion, as if he were Satan himself ; the incarnation of the Genius of Evil, and the Arch-Enemy of the Church of God. When he died, December 27, 1595, at Nombre de Dios, during his last expedition, ten days were spent at Panama and elsewhere in festivities over his welcome death as a foe, and over his certain damnation as a heretic. The boldness, courage, danger, and success of these distant enterprises have lent to them a halo of renown which has itensified with age. Nearer home, also, there was scope for the exercise of bull-dog courage, with the additional inducement of appropriating spoil. In the Summer of 1563, four hundred English and Huguenot roving craft in the English Channel took about seven hundred prizes. An incidental but lasting advantage accrued in training a body of resolute seamen for the mercantile marine and the Royal Navy ; whose prowess and endurance were notably displayed in subsequent struggles.

Philip had another cause of complaint against England. The people of what came to be known as the United Netherlands—the story of which, with the rise of the Dutch Republic, has been worthily narrated by Motley—were making heroic efforts to shake off the Spanish yoke. The struggle, against overwhelming odds, corresponds in modern times to that of ancient Greece against Persia ; aggravated and embittered by religious animosity and by the diabolical cruelties of the Inquisition. According to Grotius, one hundred thousand victims were slaughtered under Charles V. in his insane attempts to crush popular liberties in the Low Countries and to arrest the spread of

the Reformation. Philip of Spain pursued the same course. His chief lieutenant was the Duke of Alva (1508–1582); a fierce warrior and a relentless bigot; unscrupulous and merciless. He organized the Council of Troubles, which soon acquired the name of the Council of Blood. He boasted that he had executed in seven years eighteen thousand six hundred heretics and traitors; besides an untold multitude who fell in battle, siege, and by massacre. Yet the people would not renounce their ancient liberties or their religion. Their chief leader, William the Silent, Prince of Orange (1533–1584), maintained his cause in the face of repeated defeat and disappointment, until his assassination, in Delft, by order of Philip, after several attempts had failed, and instigated by the reward of twenty-five thousand crowns which he offered. But the spirit of the people remained unbroken, even after thousands of merchants, farmers, and artisans had crossed the sea and found an asylum in England. Ever since the days of the Plantagenets it has been a maxim of English law that whosoever among the oppressed and persecuted of other lands set foot on these shores became free subjects of the realm. On its hospitable soil various types of national character and shades of belief have been absorbed and assimilated; with the result that the race has become in a high degree cosmopolitan. The same rule has been followed in the Great Republic of the West. This circumstance, combined with the sturdy preservation of self-government, has won for men of English speech, on both sides of the Atlantic, an imperial position in the modern world of commercial enterprise, of intellectual influence, and of moral power.

The expatriated Hollanders were chiefly attracted by the low, swampy regions on the Eastern coast, which reminded them of their own home. There they built dikes and dug canals: with the engineering skill and patient industry for which they were renowned. They gave the name of New Holland to a large area in Lincolnshire, which they reclaimed from the sea, as their fathers had done in Holland. They swarmed into Norfolk, and laid the foundations of the weaving industry which made Norwich the second city in the kingdom. The number of refugees in 1562 was

estimated at thirty thousand, and the stream continued during Alva's pitiless rule. Strype says that in an enumeration taken by the Lord Mayor in 1568, out of six thousand seven hundred foreigners in the City of London, more than three-fourths were from the Low Countries. They were found by thousands in Dover, Canterbury, Sandwich, Hythe, and other places along that coast, where they plied their looms; and they were scattered through the rural districts, where they introduced improved methods of farming, and cultivated fruits and vegetables hitherto unknown. It is not too much to say that with their arrival in such numbers a new chapter opens in the industrial history of England. In London, they made window-glass, pins and needles, gloves, beaver hats, and furniture; in Colchester, baize and parchment; in Honiton and other parts of Devon, Flemish lace; in Mortlake, arras; in Fulham, tapestry; in Maidstone, linen thread; in Norwich and elsewhere, serge, flannel, silks, bombazines, and other fabrics. Besides the material advantages brought to this country by the influx of such an industrious community, there were intellectual, moral, and religious influences of an abiding character. These exiles for the cause of liberty were independent, self-respecting, and self-supporting. They came from a land where beggars were unknown, and where education was universal. Each man brought his Bible; and his daily life was a sermon on the Christian virtues of temperance, thrift, and charity.

The Queen disliked their religious opinions, and had no sympathy with their aspirations after liberty. She contemned them as "base mechanicals"; but she welcomed them because it was vexing to Spain; and the sagacity of her Ministers perceived the material advantages likely to accrue from their presence. On this account, concessions were made to them such as were denied to native-born Puritans or Separatists. The latter, with whom they freely mingled in business and in social life, could not help hearing much of the land across the strip of silver sea which had been the home of civil freedom and of religious tolerance until overrun and subjugated by the Spaniards, amidst scenes of unutterable atrocity and horror; where trade was unshackled by

monopolies or arbitrary imposts; where justice was impartially administered; where imprisonment by royal warrant or Council order was unknown; where Star Chamber and High Commission Courts had no existence; where the pardon of criminals and the defeat of justice by bribes was unheard of; where liberty of debate was unquestioned; and where taxes were levied only with the consent of the governed. All these things could be readily explained, and the ordinary affairs of life carried on, because it was almost as easy for an Englishman to understand a Dutchman as a native of some distant county like Yorkshire or Dorset. The resemblances between the two languages were more marked three centuries ago. Skeat, in the Introduction to his 'Etymological Dictionary,' refers to the great but unacknowledged influence of the Dutch upon English history; particularly in the days of Elizabeth. That it was marked, widespread, and permanent, there can be no question. The example of the Dutch was never forgotten. Their prosperity acted as a stimulus to other races in their struggles for liberty; and they gave to England a renowned monarch in William III.

Nobly did the Netherlands repay English hospitality, when the Spanish Fury ended, and the country became an asylum during fifty or sixty years for the victims of prelatical intolerance in England. Thousands of Puritans and Separatists were driven forth after 1585, down to the assembling of the Long Parliament in 1640; and they mostly found a refuge in Holland; whence numbers of them went to establish a home for freedom in America. On July 26, 1581, representatives of twelve out of the seventeen provinces met at the Hague; solemnly renounced allegiance to Spain; and put forth the memorable Declaration of Independence. The great object for which William the Silent had laboured and fought was at length achieved; though only seven of the Northern provinces continued firm; and though several years of struggle yet remained ere the Spanish yoke was finally broken. The ten Southern and Catholic provinces, now composing Belgium, continued under their foreign ruler. The others are generally spoken of as the Dutch Republic. As the founder of religious toleration.

which afterwards developed into religious liberty, the memory of William the Silent deserves to be revered. It was an immutable principle with him that no man should be molested on account of his belief; and thus, toleration became the corner-stone of the future Republic, in which all sects were respected. This large comprehension and the sturdy resistance of oppression explain Elizabeth's reluctance and hesitancy to help Holland in the struggle with Spain. A few troops were sent; a little money was doled out; and hard bargains were driven with the necessities and perils of the people. Burghley and Walsingham saw that the safety of England lay in the success of the revolt in the Netherlands. The Puritan spirit of the country discerned the same thing, and sent generous voluntary gifts. It was during one of the campaigns that Sir Philip Sidney received his death-wound, September 22, 1586, before the walls of Zutphen, at the age of thirty-two; under circumstances which have rendered his name immortal.

This intervention was an unpardonable offence to Spanish pride; and the ambassador in London was instructed to resent it in the strongest terms. But the die was cast. The nation had been aroused, and the Netherlanders were no longer left to struggle alone against a tyranny that threatened the whole of Europe. After superhuman efforts and untold sufferings, the United Provinces successfully maintained their freedom. In the next century they reached an unprecedented height of commercial wealth; of political influence; and of artistic renown. From this war of forty years' duration, emerged one of the greatest Republics of the world. From the same land, in 1609, went forth the settlers of New Amsterdam; carrying with them, among other social and moral germs, that which subsequently expanded into full religious equality when the settlement became, in 1664, the British colony of New York. Nor was the effect lost upon the English people, when, by the fireside and in the market-place, in the workshop and the field, at the village fair and on public festivals, the tale of Spanish tyranny and of Popish intolerance in the Netherlands was told by tens of thousands of expatriated men and women, who had seen the scaffolds

running with blood; the flames blazing around the stake; the pit that entombed living victims; the sacking of towns; the violation of mothers and maidens; and the indiscriminate massacre of white-haired age and of helpless infancy. In a passage in his 'Rise of the Dutch Republic,' breathing an ardent love of liberty, Motley describes the effects of the Inquisition, of the Reign of Terror, and of the Council of Blood in the Netherlands; which produced a reflex influence on this country.

Another motive influenced Philip II. in his designs upon England; besides hatred of the land that sheltered and aided the victims of his cruelty. The Papal Bull of Excommunication branded Elizabeth as a usurper; and, as in ancient times, absolved all her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and offered her kingdom to any true son of the Church who could win and hold it as a fief of the Holy See. Pope Sixtus V. (b. 1521, r. 1585–1590) made a compact with Philip; similar to the one between Pope Alexander II. and William the Norman. The Spaniards regarded the English with envenomed hatred as commercial rivals; as thieves and pirates; and as heretics. The English cordially returned the sentiment, because of Spanish greed, pride, and cruelty. Copies of the folio edition of Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs,' as it was popularly called, with its realistic full-page illustrations, had been placed by order in the churches, beside the Bible and Jewel's 'Apology,' and the 'Paraphrase' by Erasmus. These books were chained to desks or shelves for safety; a common practice both in England and on the Continent at that time, and still to be seen in the Library founded by Lorenzo de' Medici, the Magnificent (1448–1492), at Florence; in Hereford Cathedral; and other places. The diligent perusal of these works did much to intensify popular hatred of the system of which Spain was the chief exponent and advocate, and which she was enforcing throughout her wide domains by fire and sword; by strangling and torture; by oppression and conquest. Underlying all this was a conflict of principles. Spain represented moral stagnation, and the surrender of human rights to regal and priestly tyranny.

England stood for intellectual and religious freedom; destined, ere long, to triumph over both the mitre and the crown.

It was known early in 1587 that Spain was completing her long-contemplated and extensive preparations to invade this country. Drake, assuming the offensive, and on his own initiative, sailed into the Bay of Cadiz; attacked, burned, sunk, or captured thirty vessels, of ten thousand tons in all; destroyed more than a hundred at places along the coast; seized a galleon; besides landing here and there, and inflicting much damage upon property. He returned home with immense plunder. The intended invasion by Spain was frustrated by this raid, and had to be deferred until the following year. The English were thoroughly roused, and eager for the fray. For eight years it had been expected and prepared for. From all parts, offers of help poured in upon the Council. When London was asked for fifteen ships and five thousand men, double the number of both were readily supplied. Every seaport made a similar response. A camp was formed at Tilbury, on the Thames; but it consisted mostly of raw recruits. The real line of defence was the sea. The coast resounded with the bustle and din of fitting out ships. Every town, village, and hamlet raised contingents of men, and furnished arms, warlike stores, money, and provisions. The impending struggle was for national existence, for liberty and honour, for home and religion, and for everything that men hold dear. It was the people's battle; for the country was saved in spite of the Queen's niggardliness and folly. In the presence of a common danger, all else was forgotten; even by the Catholic lords and gentry, who were among the foremost to volunteer; thus disappointing a hope cherished by Philip that patriotism would yield to bigotry. As the time drew nigh, the chief portion of the fleet, commanded by Lord Howard of Effingham, having under him such renowned captains as Hawkins, Frobisher, and Drake, sailed from Plymouth to watch and harass the enemy. The total fleet, all round the coast, including volunteer private ships, comprised only one hundred and thirty-one vessels. The largest was but ten hundred tons. Two were of nine

hundred, and two more of eight hundred each; but there were only thirteen above four hundred. The entire tonnage was not quite thirty-two thousand; so that most of the ships were small; but they were swift and well-handled. They were manned by seventeen thousand sailors and soldiers. Their cannon, however feeble and inefficient compared with modern ordnance, were superior to those of their rivals. The Hollanders, out of sympathy, sent threescore small craft to the help of England; but rendered more signal service by blockading their own coast, so as to hem in the Spanish troops in the Netherlands.

The invading force consisted of one hundred and twenty-nine vessels, with a combined tonnage of fifty-nine thousand, half of them being much larger, though more unwieldly, than the English. Seven were over a thousand tons, and the largest was thirteen hundred. They carried thirty thousand men; provisions for six months; and stores of all descriptions. They were, however, for the most part, mere transport ships, designed to land a huge hostile force. Besides these, thirty-four thousand troops were assembled in the Netherlands under the Duke of Parma, nephew to Philip, an able soldier and the Viceroy; waiting to be transported across under the convoy of the Armada. One hundred and eighty priests, friars, and Jesuits accompanied the expedition; with sacred banners, relics, vestments, chalices, instruments of torture for heretics, and all the other ecclesiastical paraphernalia for effecting spiritual subjugation. It was a religious crusade; as sacred and fanatical as any carried on in former times against the Saracens. To crown all, the high-sounding title of the Invincible Armada was given to this equipment of lay and clerical force. Setting forth in April from the Bay of Ferrol, a great storm was encountered; and three months were spent in re-fitting. It was sighted for the first time off Plymouth, on July 20, 1588; while Drake was having a game of bowls, which, he said, he should have time to finish before embarking. It was drawn up in the form of a crescent measuring about seven miles between the horns. A running fight took place. The light English vessels quickly tacked and dodged their unwieldly adversaries,

with their high fore and aft structures towering out of the water; raking them with broadsides; cutting off one and another; and doing considerable injury; yet avoiding a close engagement, by express orders. This process lasted for nine days along the English Channel. The Spaniards, "whose feathers were plucked one by one," were unable to escape the vigilance of the Netherlanders, and to convoy Parma's troops. The flat-bottomed boats prepared for their embarkation rotted for months afterwards along the coast. The whole plan of campaign was deranged and frustrated. In the running fight, the Spanish soldiers on board became worse than useless, and added to the confusion. Fireships were sent among the cumbrous galleons, which, in their panic, were chased Northwards; sustaining great losses in their flight around Scotland and Ireland while battling with the elements in the hope of getting back to Spain. Repeated storms burst upon them; inflicting more damage than their pursuers. The medal that commemorated the defeat bore the motto,—"The Lord sent His wind, and scattered them;" and the devout sentiment of that day compared the national deliverance to that of Jerusalem when Sennacherib's host was smitten.

The loss of life was enormous. Eight thousand are said to have perished along the Irish coast. Those who sought to escape by swimming to land were captured or slain. The shores were strewn with wreckage; and for months every tide brought in melancholy mementoes of the catastrophe that had overwhelmed the Spaniards. Only fifty-four of their ships, greatly damaged, straggled back, with one-third of the men; all suffering from disease and starvation. The effects were as humiliating and disastrous as the Battle of Actium was to Antony and Cleopatra; or the wreck of Napoleon's army in Russia. So terrible was the loss, that all mourning was forbidden to be worn. England at once took and kept the foremost place as a maritime power. Spain never recovered from the blow, or regained the mastery of the seas. Her recent subjugation of Portugal was neutralized. During the next century, she sustained a series of defeats from the English and the Dutch. The Netherlands were lost; then, the possessions in Italy;

and, finally, most of the treasure-house of South America; wrought amidst the agony, tears, and blood of innumerable victims of Spanish greed. The immediate effect was that all the plans laid by Philip with such craft and patience, in the palace of the Escorial at Madrid, where he schemed and toiled in his cabinet with unwearying monotony, were wholly frustrated. For years he had been weaving a complex web of diplomacy and Statecraft. Already absolute over a wide domain, and proud to such a degree that none were allowed to addresss him except on their knees, Philip hoped, laboured, intrigued, robbed, and lied for a yet vaster empire; coupled with the fond dream of rolling back the tide of heresy and re-establishing the Papal power. He bribed freely, where he could not coerce; and the poisoning or the assassination of all who stood in his way was persistently attempted. Elizabeth's life was in constant jeopardy from his hired bravoes. This had led to the famous Bond of Association, in November, 1584, by which the signatories all over the country, Catholic as well as Protestant, swore to protect her against attacks; and, in the event of her death by violence, to avenge it, and not to recognise any successor—meaning, Mary Queen of Scots—in whose interest her death was procured. Philip's schemes were thwarted, and his strength and influence were decaying. France, on the eve of capture through internal strife, escaped from his grasp when Henry of Navarre, in 1593, declared himself a Catholic, saying that Paris was worth a Mass; and thus united the contending factions. Not at once, or without many further struggles, did Spain resign her proud supremacy; but it was doomed, and nothing could prevent the surrender. After the death of Philip II., in 1598, she rapidly declined. The greatest monarchy of the age sunk into bankruptcy and was partitioned with dishonour, long before the drivelling imbecile Charles II., the last of the Austrian line, ended his miserable life in 1700. To England, the dispersion of the Armada was a final deliverance from a constant menace. Her nationality, her liberty, her Protestantism, her growing commerce, were assured; especially under Oliver Cromwell; never again to be placed in jeopardy, except for a short time under Charles II. and his brother.

In like manner as the Spaniards retained a jealous and an exclusive hold upon South America, did the Portuguese and the Dutch carry on a monopoly of trade with the East; until, in 1581, the Company of Turkey Merchants was incorporated in England, and agents were sent overland and round the Cape of Good Hope to China and India. This great trading body lasted until 1825. There were also the African Company, the Guinea Company, the Russia Company, the Canary Company, and other corporations; but the most important was the Governor and Company of the Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. It was founded in 1599; and the next year received a Charter; to remain in force for fifteen years; renewed from time to time for two centuries and a half. Two years later, the Dutch East India Company was formed, and was for a lengthened period a formidable rival; until its power was broken by Blake, under Cromwell. The early voyagers sought to discover a North-East or a North-West passage to the Indies; and those who succeeded in arriving by the Cape route established factories, as trading settlements were termed. Some of them were short-lived; owing to local disputes with the Portuguese, the Dutch, and others; while some led to permanent and lucrative trade. Commercial intercourse was begun on a small scale with Persia, India, and Japan, through a series of adventures as romantic as the history of Robinson Crusoe, and sometimes narrated in a style as veracious, if not actually worthy of Munchausen. The enormous wealth, the mercantile influence, and the political power to which this great trading corporation eventually attained could not then be foreseen. Yet the course of commerce from the East had already been diverted, with increasing volume, from the old caravan route through Mesopotamia and Egypt by the long sea-voyage round the Cape of Good Hope; to be restored in modern days by the Overland Route opened up by Lieutenant Waghorn in 1845, after immense difficulties and obstacles; and, still more recently, through the Suez Canal; constructed through the enterprise of M. Ferdinand de Lesseps. The founders of the East India Company were the pioneers of the unparalleled mercantile and colonial supremacy of modern England.

Sir George Birdwood has published a Report on the Old Records of the India Office, including the early Minutes of the Court of Directors, and particulars concerning the trading, shipping, legal, political, and foreign affairs of the Company. He has appended valuable details respecting the Modern Quest after the Indies, from the times of the Phœnicians, the Macedonians, and the Arabs, that preceded Vasco da Gama's discovery of the Cape route ; with the subsequent explorations by the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, and their prolonged struggles for supremacy during the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth centuries. This was, in effect, the final result of the ancient rivalry for the rich trade of the East, which, commencing between Jerusalem, Edom, and Tyre, was continued between Egypt, Phœnicia, and Assyria, and then, after the disruption of the Roman Empire, was carried on successively by Genoa and Venice, by Spain and Portugal, by Holland and England, and by England and France. The London of Queen Elizabeth's time was fast becoming the commercial centre of the world ; as Genoa, Venice, and afterwards Antwerp, had been for centuries. Great mansions and palaces, like Winchester House, Crosby Hall, and Derby House, were sold by their noble owners to wealthy City merchants. Sir Thomas Gresham (1519–1579), more than Sir Richard Whittington of an earlier age, is the type of a merchant prince ; though much of his vast wealth was gained by what would now be termed usury ; by high commissions charged on his financial transactions and monopolies with the Low Countries on behalf of the Government ; and by other questionable methods. His establishment, in 1571, of the Royal Exchange, on the plan of the Continental Bourse, led to a marvellous development of commerce. His munificent endowment of a College has shared the fate of Edward Alleyn's foundation at Dulwich, and of many similar institutions.

English affairs in Ireland remained unchanged. The rule was nominal ; even within the Pale. Ancient feuds and rivalries still existed. Sir H. Wallop, one of the Lords Justices, wrote to Burghley concerning the people in 1582 :—"They also hate our nation, partly through

general mislike and disdain one nation hath to be governed by another; partly that we are contrary to them in religion; and lastly they seek to have the government among themselves." Burghley avowed an opinion that the Netherlanders had not such cause to rebel against the oppression of the Spaniards as the Irish against the tyranny of England; and Lecky says that the Englishmen in Ireland surpassed the ferocity of Alva. Attempts made to subjugate the Irish by Sidney, Raleigh, and others, had been attended with but partial and temporary success. The strong hand of England was felt for the time; but, when withdrawn, the old state of things reappeared. The nature of the treatment may be learned from the Carew Papers, and similar documents of the time:—"A man may ride South, West, and North twenty or forty miles, and see neither house, corn, nor cattle. . . . Many hundred of men, women, and children are dead of famine." Within twenty-one months from the beginning of 1578, four hundred were executed by martial law in the Province of Munster. Two years later, the Queen's Deputy wrote:—"I hear it is said I use the sword over severely. I am sorry I have spared it so much; and if it be not used more sharply than hitherto it has been, her Majesty is like to lose both sword and realm." Lord Chancellor Gerrard, who was also Dean of St. Patrick's, expressed his opinion, in 1577, that "if, in ten years passed, the Governors had been enabled to subject the whole Irishry to the sword (which manner of government, if ever Ireland shall be thoroughly reformed, must be practised), Ireland had been in other terms of wealth and obedience than it is at this day." The Earl of Sussex, regarded as the flower of chivalry, was Lord Deputy in 1561, when one of the periodical rebellions broke out under Shan O'Neil; one of whose servants was suborned to murder him. Failing in this, a cask of poisoned wine was sent to him as a present. Eight years later, Sir Philip Carew exterminated the clan of the Butlers; and in 1573 the Earl of Essex ordered some hundreds, including women and infants, to be murdered in cold blood; and received the special thanks of the Queen.

Edmund Spenser (1553–1599), the poet, in his 'State

of Ireland,' which may still be read with advantage for its treatment of a thorny subject, describes, in harrowing terms, from personal observation during his long residence there as Secretary to the Lord Deputy, the starving, hopeless, and almost savage condition of the people of Munster, who "were brought to such wretchedness, as that any stony heart would have rued the same." To this miserable condition was the country reduced; partly by the anarchy of the people, but still more by the misgovernment of some of the English Deputies, who ruled with the absolutism and irresponsibility of Turkish pashas. A policy of repression and terrorism was proclaimed by English statesmen; and they did not shrink from any acts of violence in carrying out a system that culminated in the atrocious Penal Code a hundred years later. Treated like wild beasts, many of the people became such; and were even more fierce, intractable, and dangerous.

Provoked by numerous petty insurrections, ending in the rebellion of Tyrone, the English Government dispatched a large army in 1598, in the hope of subduing the country. This was accomplished, in a way, and for a time; but at enormous cost of money and life. For some years the expenses averaged half a million. Private adventurers were encouraged to raise troops at their own charges; and, by reducing various districts, to convert them to their personal profit. Hundreds of thousands of acres were confiscated and apportioned among English settlers or absentee owners. This was repeated in 1610, when two-thirds of Ulster were declared forfeited; and large colonies, partly English, but chiefly Scottish, were planted. The Corporation of London undertook the settlement of Derry, and gave to it the combined name of Londonderry, which it has borne ever since. The vast estates thus obtained are still managed by the Irish Society of the City of London. Others of its great trading guilds also acquired immense tracts of territory in the same way. Rapine and insolence on the part of the conquerors inflamed the hatred of the conquered; and the feeling was intensified by religious feuds. The seed thus sown yielded a prolific harvest of disaffection and hatred for three centuries. The attempt to force upon

the country an alien church, regarded as heretical by the people, entailed grave perplexities and perils upon future generations. With all their internal feuds, the Irish remained firm in their allegiance to Rome. An unbroken chain of evidence runs throughout the State Papers, as to the dislike with which the attempt was regarded; the hatred felt towards the agents employed; the nepotism and immorality of many of the Protestant clergy; and the notorious failure of the enterprise. The Anglican Establishment, imposed and maintained by force, as a badge of conquest and as a means of further subjugation, proved to be a root of untold evil, injustice, and oppression; until it was shorn of some of its wealth and power in 1833 by the Irish Church Temporalities Act, and, at length, was abolished, after a great struggle, in 1869.

In his work on the Irish Reformation, Dr. Maziere Brady effectually disposes of two figments; viz., that the Anglican hierarchy was derived from the bishops of what is inaccurately called the ancient Irish Church; and that the Romanist prelates as a body became identified with the Reformed movement of the nondescript Elizabethan type. Whoever may have profited by the misery, depression, and atrocious misgovernment of Ireland, most assuredly it has not been the English nation. To them, Ireland has been a ceaseless source of expense, weakness, anxiety and danger; from the nominal Conquest under Henry II. down to present times. Centuries of robbery, cruelty, misrule, and coercion have entailed an avenger whose terrible whip has not yet ceased to scourge. Military adventurers, absentee landlords, rapacious lawyers, hungry officials, hireling priests, penniless nobles, jobbers, and monopolists, battened upon Irish confiscations, sinecures, and pension lists. In the ill-gotten gains of such parasites the country had no part; while its taxpayers were burdened and crushed to maintain the forces that oppressed and devoured them.

CHAPTER XLVI.

A GROUP OF CELEBRITIES.

A.D. 1558–1603.

Queen Elizabeth died March 24, 1603, in the seventieth year of her age and the forty-fifth of her reign. For some months she had suffered from morbid melancholy; and for a much longer period from growing physical infirmities, which intensified her imperious Tudor spirit and her vanity and petulance. She exemplified the truth of Madame de Staël's remark,—"It is difficult to grow old gracefully." It was popularly believed, without any proof being adduced, that her life was shortened by the execution of her handsome, conceited, and wayward favourite, the Earl of Essex, which took place on Tower Hill, February 25, 1601, in his thirty-fourth year. He was charged with a plot to seize her and overturn the government. The romantic story of the ring entrusted by him to the Countess of Nottingham, who is said to have failed to deliver it to the Queen with his penitent message, is an invention of a later age. It is certain, however, that she lost her spirits and energy. Nothing aroused or interested her. She had outlived her old friends and advisers. She knew that some of the men whom she had ennobled and enriched were corresponding with her successor. Age, disease, disappointment, and dejection proved too much; and her masculine character suddenly failed. Ferocious attacks were made upon her personal reputation, during her life-time and long subsequently; and her somewhat dubious relations with her favourites have been placed in the most odious light. It is useless to revive mean scandals that spring up like gross fungi over the illustrious dead. In her case, they arose chiefly in the bitterness of theological controversy, and are interesting only to historical scavengers. They never had any tangible evidence to support them, and the charges come from tainted sources. She ranks in history with Catherine de' Medici, with Catherine II. of Russia, with Christina of Sweden, and with Maria Theresa, among the dominant women who have displayed singular

force of character and masculine traits. Her people were attached to her and proud of her. The traditions of her renown were long cherished. Oliver Cromwell, addressing his Parliament, September 17, 1656, spoke of "the Queen Elizabeth, of famous memory: we need not be ashamed to call her so;" following the example of his deceased friends, Eliot and Pym, who lauded her rule.

Never was English monarch surrounded by such an illustrious band of statesmen and administrators. Never was reign more renowned for its galaxy of literary splendour; for its merchant princes; and for its bold navigators, who by their enterprise and courage made the name of England famous across unknown seas and in distant lands. It was called, with pardonable exaggeration, the Golden Age and the Augustan Age of the country's history; filling "the spacious times of great Elizabeth with sounds that echo still." It formed the theme of 'Kenilworth'; one of the greatest of Scott's romances. Men flourished of whom any nation and any period might well be proud. The stately form of Burghley (1520–1598), with his comprehensive political vision; the solid and sagacious Sir Nicholas Bacon (1510–1579), whose renown is eclipsed only by that of his more illustrious son, both of them holders of the Great Seal; the patient, plodding, mole-like, and faithful Walsingham (1536–1590); the sprightly and accomplished Sir Christopher Hatton (1540–1591), at once Lord Keeper and Court dancer; the magnificent, if conceited Leicester (1532–1588), the versatile and brilliant Ralegh (1552–1618); and Thomas Sackville, afterwards Lord Buckhurst, and then Earl of Dorset (1527–1608), form a noteworthy Court group, differing greatly in capacity and merit, but each celebrated in his own order. Archbishops Parker, Grindal, Sandys, and Whitgift, with Bishops Jewel and Parkhurst, held high rank and swayed commanding influence as ecclesiastical statesmen in that formative age of the English Church; among whose Fathers they are numbered. Richard Hooker (1553–1600), the Judicious, one of the gentlest and most conciliatory of men, from his retirement at Boscum, near Salisbury, after a troubled time as Master of the Temple, discoursed profoundly, with much and

deep pondering, on 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' in a magnificent treatise that displays a Catholicity and a Liberalism not to be found among the Puritans of that day. Its origin is mentioned in the forty-third Chapter. The first four books appeared in 1594; and the fifth three years later. The remaining books were left in an imperfect state, and have suffered strange mutations at the hands of friends and foes.

Yet, like the Liberalism of Erasmus, that of Hooker was not militant enough to meet the stern demands of the time, or to break down the stubborn and unreasoning opposition inherited from the narrow dogmatism of former ages, and perpetuating itself under a Protestant guise. He stands by universal consent in the first rank of English literature, for profound learning, grasp of principles, lofty tone, and majestic diction; whatever judgment may be formed as to his particular conclusions. His fame rests chiefly on the 'Polity'; but his fragmentary essays on the Sacraments and on Predestination are, in point of ability, fully on a level with his more elaborate treatise. He bases his argument, not on authority and tradition, as Jewel largely does, but upon conscience and reason, and upon what is provable and possible; and holds that the form of Church government is a matter of expediency, and that human government rests on a social compact. This theory was developed in the next century by John Locke; and, still later, by Rousseau, in his famous work that so largely influenced the French Revolution. As marking the swift revolution in opinion, William Chillingworth (1602–1644), one of the most exact and convincing of controversialists, who had perverted to Romanism, and then recanted in a few months, went far beyond Hooker. In his apologetic work, 'the Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation,' issued in 1635, he sets at defiance mere authority and force, and affirms the right of private judgment; although not in the modern ample sense of the phrase. His fundamental principle was adopted by such influential writers as John Hales of Eton, Jeremy Taylor, Bishop Burnet, Archbishop Tillotson, and the cautious Sir William Temple. Chillingworth denounced persecution in scathing terms; and said that Protestants

are inexcusable if they offer violence to other men's consciences. He maintained that the Scriptures are the rule of faith, that there is no infallible canon of external interpretation; and yet, in essential things, the meaning is plain to those who honestly and sincerely try to understand, and are willing to obey. This is the essence of his famous principle, so often quoted, but so rarely understood, and so incorrectly applied,—"The Bible, and the Bible alone, is the religion of Protestants."

Other men, of deserved renown, helped to establish their country's fame abroad. Hardy sailors were ready, in defiance of winds and waves, and of the terrible scurvy that struck down their crews, to cross stormy and trackless seas, in little vessels of a few score tons; to have "a brush with the Spaniards"; to open up new fields for commercial enterprise; and to bring back untold and dazzling wealth, as from the golden sands of Pactolus. Frobisher, Hawkins, Ralegh, Drake, Gilbert, Willoughby, Cavendish, and Howard of Effingham, were illustrious names that thrilled all Englishmen. But there were many others, less famous, simply because their renown was eclipsed by these adventurous and successful men. Hundreds of tracts, broadsides, and rough maps on America were printed during the reign; showing the great interest aroused. Among the Colonial State Papers are numerous letters, reports, observations, and memorials from persons who had gone or who were anxious to go in quest of a North-East or a North-West passage to India, or who had made repeated voyages to Tripoli, Tunis, Egypt, Constantinople, the Guinea Coast, Senegal, Gambia, the East Indies, Persia, Japan, the Spice Islands, Russia, and elsewhere, for purposes of discovery or of trade. Some had returned home with priceless argosies. Camden describes one trip by which a direct line of communication for mercantile purposes was sought to be established with Persia by the course of the Dwina, the Volga, and the Caspian Sea; a route traversed by the Northmen five centuries before. Richard Hakluyt (1553–1616), in his famous 'Voyages,' published between 1582 and 1589, traces English travels by land and sea from the fabled times of King Arthur, and gives a long and distinguished catalogue of sailors in his day; although

he has an unfortunate habit of making verbal alterations and omissions in documents quoted. His contemporary, Samuel Purchas, issued his 'Pilgrimes' in 1613; and both works found eager readers and admirers.

Men told with glistening eyes and rapturous tones how Sir Humphrey Gilbert (1539–1584), being wrecked on the homeward voyage from Newfoundland, was heard to cry out, just before his vessel was engulphed,—"Courage! my friends; we are as near heaven by sea as on the land"; a proverbial phrase used by Elstow the Friar, in 1532, when threatened by the Council with being sewn in a sack and thrown into the Thames, for protesting against the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn. Longfellow has selected the Gilbert incident as the theme of a poem. In a spirit of similar exultation men told how Drake, on one of his voyages, caught a glimpse of the Pacific, and prayed God to grant him life and leave once to sail an English ship on that sea; or how, afterwards, during his great circumnavigation, he expressed himself as much comforted by seeing a gibbet on the coast of Patagonia, as a proof that Christian people had been there already. It was a familiar and popular story of how Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586), author of 'Arcadia,' and the hero of Zutphen, when mortally wounded, and being carried off the field, refused a draught of water for which he had called, and ordered it to be given to a dying soldier who looked and longed for it. Sidney was a scholar and a courtier, as well as a soldier. He was the friend of Spenser, who has immortalized him as Sir Calidore, the type of courtesy, and all-beloved; though Milton calls his 'Arcadia' a "vain and amatorious poem." In popular esteem he was a model of manly beauty and polished grace, like Antinous. To cite only one more of the thrilling incidents of that age; men loved to tell the story, familiar by the descriptions of Bacon and of Ralegh, and, in modern days, by Tennyson's heroic poem, of how Sir Richard Grenville, commander of the "Revenge," finding himself detached from Lord Howard's fleet, fought for fifteen hours off the Azores, on August 31, 1591, against fifty-three Spanish ships, four of which he sunk, and would not surrender until he fell, mortally wounded, half of his crew being killed, the remainder

disabled, and the gunpowder exhausted. Four days afterwards, the "Revenge," with two hundred Spaniards on board, and thirteen vessels of the Spanish Plate Fleet, foundered in a storm; thus verifying its name, in the disaster entailed upon its captors.

A boy of Plymouth or of Bristol, then the chief sea-ports of the South-West, wandering along the narrow streets or the crowded quays laden with the strange produce of distant lands, might look at almost any time on bronzed, hardy sea-captains whose names and prowess were the themes of universal praise. They had ventured over the Atlantic in search of the city of gold and priceless gems; they had doubled Cape Horn and sailed on the sea of the peaceful name; they had threaded dangerous and intricate channels among the Northern ice-fields; they had skirted the African coasts, and safely passed the terrible Cape of Storms; some of them had found their way to India, and explored the land of fabled Prester John and other marvellous countries. Strange stories they told of what they had seen and heard, after the manner of sailors in every age; sometimes incredible as the legend of the Flying Dutchman, and always couched in nautical phraseology, marked more by strength and colour than by refinement or strict accuracy. The wonderful stories, losing nothing in the process of transmission, slowly filtered through various channels into the inland towns and villages; arousing them into a new life. A country gentleman visiting the metropolis on a rare occasion, or for the only time, would meet men of famous names, in the crowded City streets, or along the Strand with its mansions. He would find easy access to Whitehall, and be gratified with frequent sights of the Queen and her Court. She loved to see and to be seen; and freely moved among her people. The rural visitor would see councillors, statesmen, ambassadors, warriors, judges, divines, scholars, legislators, merchants who were helping to make history. Men of established literary reputation; others eagerly aspiring after renown; sweet singers; famous dramatists; writers of quaint conceits; "Her Majesty's servants," or those of the Earl of Leicester, or of some other great noble, as actors were then termed; all were to be found in the Court or in the City.

Besides the great men already enumerated, the reign presented a marvellous display of literary splendour; chiefly, however, in the form of poetry, which had almost died away into silence and forgetfulness in the two hundred years since the days of Chaucer. In the long interval, Thomas Occleve (1370–1454), John Lydgate (1375–1460), and John Skelton (1460–1529) were the foremost poets, if the first two, apart from their eulogy of Chaucer, are deserving of the name. Skelton, now chiefly remembered by his coarse and bold invectives against Wolsey, was Orator Regius, or, a kind of Laureate to Henry VIII. Though a cleric, his style is coarse and broad. He is the author of 'Colin Clout,' and of 'Phylypp Sparowe'; and to him is owing the seven-lined stanza. Spenser, with Shakspere and Bacon, helped still further to reveal the capabilities of the language. In this they were assisted, among others to be specifically named, by William Warner, Thomas Campion, Samuel Daniel, and John Donne. Within half a century, there was an outburst of song from nearly two hundred and fifty poets; to be followed by the grand organ-peal of Milton and by the vigorous verse of Dryden. Chroniclers, annalists, and biographers, like John Stow (1525–1605), William Camden (1551–1623), the English Pausanius, Raphael Holinshed, who died about 1580, Sir John Harrington (1561–1612), and John Speed (1555–1629); patrons of letters, like Sir Thomas Bodley (1544–1612), whose name is perpetuated in Oxford; collectors of historical records, like Parker; munificent and cultivated merchants, like Sir Thomas Gresham (1519–1579), and many more, "on Fame's eternal bead-roll worthy to be filed," contributed to enlarge the renown of the reign. It is remarkable, however, that literature in Scotland was at its lowest ebb. The rich strains of Scottish poetry in Robert Henryson, or Henderson, in William Dunbar, Gavin Douglas, Sir David Lindsay, and other successors of the older John Barbour and James I., had ceased at the Reformation, with the incessant political confusions and the severe rule of Presbyterianism; so that the age of literary splendour in England was one of chaos, poverty, and sterility across the Border, until men

arose like Sir William Alexander, Sir Robert Aytoun, and William Drummond of Hawthornden; though their fame was first established in England. For a lengthened period there was no indigenous Scottish culture. Such as existed, as Carlyle points out in his essay on Burns, was almost exclusively French. Lord Kames (1696–1780) trained himself to become a critic and a philosopher by studying Racine and Voltaire, Boileau and Batteux. Dr. William Robertson (1721–1793) was guided in his political speculations by the light of Montesquieu and Mably.

The ancient Mystery and Miracle Plays had been supplanted about the time of Henry VI. by the Moralities; another form which the dramatic art assumed; infused by the religious spirit. One of the best examples is John Skelton's 'Magnyfycence'; written before the end of the reign of Henry VII. Its purpose is to demonstrate the vanity of earthly grandeur. Before the close of the sixteenth century, the Moralities, with such classical scenes as 'Pyramus and Thisbe,' the 'Labours of Hercules,' and the 'Voyage of Ulysses,' in their turn had yielded to the rudimentary form of the modern drama; meeting a national craving that had asserted itself since the Reformation in realistic Interludes and Masques at the Inns of Court, in the Universities, and in the mansions of the nobility. In January, 1562, the tragedy of 'Gorboduc,' afterwards called 'Ferrex and Porrex,' the initial work of the kind in the English language, was enacted before the Queen in Whitehall. It was the joint production of Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset (1527–1608), and Thomas Norton (1532–1584); and was written in blank verse. The former also wrote the best portions of the 'Induction' to the 'Mirrour for Magistrates'; a noble poem, in which illustrious but unfortunate characters in English history are made to pass in review, and to soliloquize for the benefit of the reader. The style is the link that unites Chaucer and Lydgate with Spenser. These early dramatic experiments were presented with but faint attempts at stage illusion. The appointments and accessories were slight; as they continued to be for a long period; the chief effects being left to the imagination of the spectators, aided by certain

arbitrary signs. Theatres, in the modern sense, were unknown to the strolling players, who were accustomed to perform in rough booths, or in spacious inn-yards surrounded by tiers of galleries leading to various rooms. The expedients resorted to by Bottom and his companions in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream,' were realities in Shakspere's time. The first known English comedy, so called, was 'Ralph Roister Doister, or, a Wholesome Jest and Vainglory'; written for the Eton scholars by Nicholas Udall, the head master, between 1534 and 1541. It is not a perfect work of art; nor is 'Gammer Gurton's Needle,' first printed in 1575, and ascribed to John Still, Bishop of Bath and Wells. The humour of the piece is coarse, but clever. The loss of a needle is represented as throwing a village into confusion; by a series of altercations, mishaps, and cross-purposes. Hodge, one of the characters, is a countryman whose name has ever since served as a type for the rural population. In both these plays may be found the bud which blossomed forth in later writers. John Heywood, who died in 1565, can scarcely be regarded as a playwright; for his productions, such as 'The Spider and the Fly,' and 'Wit and Folly,' were really Interludes; the characters in which were mere abstractions.

Two other dramatic writers of the middle of the sixteenth century were Richard Edwards and George Gascoigne. The former, born about 1523, wrote in an English dress the two ancient dramas of 'Damon and Pythias,' and of 'Pylamon and Arcyte'; besides contriving Masques and writing verses for Pageants. The latter, born in 1530, was the author of numerous works; one of which, 'The Supposes,' adapted from Ariosto, and produced at Gray's Inn in 1566, is the only existing specimen of an early play in English prose. The second half of the century witnessed the advent of a large number of playwrights, whose names, and most of their writings, are known only to the curious in literary research. Among those better known are George Peele, Thomas Kyd, Thomas Lodge, and John Lyly, author of much better productions than the fantastical conceit known as Euphuism; ridiculed as "new-fangled toys" by Milton, and mercilessly caricatured by Shakspere in

'Love's Labour Lost.' There were also Thomas Nash, author of 'The Unfortunate Traveller,' and other works, whose English prose style is somewhat suggestive of Thomas Carlyle's; Robert Greene (1560–1592), a prolific writer of romances, dramas, and pamphlets exposing the sins and follies of town life; Michael Drayton (1563–1631), whose 'Polyolbion,' a poetical celebration of the natural beauties and historical associations of England, remarkably accurate and picturesque, is the only complete English poem written wholly in Alexandrines; Thomas Dekker, supposed to have flourished between 1570 and 1641, of whom Charles Lamb said he had "poetry enough for anything," author of the famous phrase as applied to Christ, "the first true gentleman that ever breathed," and creator of Signor Orlando Friscobaldo; and George Chapman (1559–1634), who surpassed most of his compeers in the number of his works, and is still remembered as an unrivalled translator of Homer's 'Iliad,' with his marvellous faculty for compound epithets.

These dramatists and poets were partly contemporaneous with Shakspere; and four of them outlived him. Before he became famous, Christopher Marlowe, who died in 1593, at the age of thirty, in a drunken brawl—to which, and to riotous living, so many of his literary associates were unfortunately addicted—was the greatest genius of all the dramatic writers of that age. His advent announced to the world that the English Stage had emancipated itself from mere imitations, dull allegories, and coarse buffoonery. If Robert Greene is, in a vague sense, the father of the national comedy, Marlowe is certainly the father of its tragedy. He had an exquisite sense of rhythm, and created, in the true sense of the word, English blank verse; constituting it the sole vehicle of dramatic expression for all Time. At the touch of his master-hand, the stumbling and struggling attempts of former writers took shape and symmetry. The music of his rhymed heroics is all his own. John Heywood, Ben Jonson, John Taylor the water-poet, and George Wither refer in appreciative terms to his 'Tamburlaine'; the hero of which was originally enacted by Edward Alleyn (1566–1626),

Shakspere has marked resemblances to it in his 'Taming of the Shrew,' in 'Titus Andronicus,' and in 'Henry the Sixth.' Marlowe's 'Edward the Second' may be deemed the harbinger of the historical drama which Shakspere fully developed. The death of the Monarch is described with a graphic power which merits the high praise bestowed by Lamb and by Hazlitt. Marlowe's "mighty line" has been the theme of much and deserved eulogium. His other works contain famous and wonderful passages, that are among the masterpieces of English verse for glowing imagination and magnificent phraseology. In felicity of thought, in sweep of fancy, and in vigour and grace of expression, he is second only to Shakspere; and in some respects may be regarded as his equal. His 'Jew of Malta' is the literary archetype of Shylock. Marlowe's force and splendour are at their best in 'Doctor Faustus'; founded on the story that Goëthe has made immortal; and his delicacy and sweetness in two cantos of 'Hero and Leander'; a narrative poem afterwards completed by Chapman. "Come, live with me and be my Love," is one of Marlowe's best-known lyrics; just as Sir Edward Dyer (1540–1610), the friend of Ralegh and of Sidney is immortalized by the famous—"My mind to me a kingdom is." The English drama attained to its perfection of dignity, grace, and strength with Shakspere. His mind was in perfect accord with the intellectual life of his day. His master-hand sweeps the entire chords of human feeling and experience. Never, since the time when Horace addressed his famous Ode to Melpomene, had the lyric goddess such illustrious votaries at her shrine. The intense love for stage-plays amounted to a passion. Not until 1576 was the first public theatre opened; but before the close of the reign there were eighteen in London; supplying the place of the modern library, news-room, platform, lecture-hall, and debating-club, at a time when books were the heritage of the few. Such were the beginnings of what Milton describes as "Gorgeous Tragedy comes sweeping by in scepter'd pall."

Scarcely anything is known of Shakspere's personal history. To the many, he is a myth. He seems to have been elusive of publicity and careless of renown. A keen

controversy has waged around the question whether the plays ascribed to him were written by Bacon. Like Homer, a nebulous tradition surrounds his name. Its orthography greatly varies, as is the case with other names in former ages, when spelling was arbitrary. Burghley, Leicester, Ralegh, and other prominent men used variable and capricious signatures; as did Shakspere. He was born, probably, on April 23, 1564; and he died on the corresponding day in 1616. During his lifetime, sixty partial issues of his various works were in circulation. The earliest collected edition, now known as the First Folio, appeared in 1623; and a second nine years later. A copious chapter of bibliography exists in the editions and annotations of Alexander Pope, Edward Capell, Lewis Theobald, George Steevens, Edmond Malone, Dr. Samuel Johnson, William Hazlitt, Alexander Chalmers, Charles Knight, Alexander Dyce, J. O. Halliwell-Phillips, Howard Staunton, W. G. Clark, W. A. Wright, and many others; with numerous German commentators and their more or less conjectural interpretations; reading into Shakspere's words meanings suggested by their own inner consciousness. Strange to say, the transcendent genius of Voltaire, while honouring Shakspere, thought he was without the smallest spark of good taste, or the slightest acquaintance with the rules of his craft. The latter charge, even if true, establishes his renown, by showing his superiority to mere mechanism. Some of his works were adaptations from older plays, or were suggested by the romantic drama and tales of Italy; but bearing the impress of his own genius. Others were great historical dramas of comparatively recent scenes, and crowded with names familiar enough in the boyhood of many of his audience. Marlborough is reported to have said that he had read his English history in the plays of Shakspere; and he has had an innumerable following. The poet took descriptive passages from Edward Hall or from Holinshed; often, by the transposition of a word or two, converting the graphic prose of the old writers into sonorous blank verse. The First Part of 'Henry VI.' was witnessed by ten thousand spectators in a few weeks; according to Nash. The Battle of Bosworth Field, some thirty miles distant from

Stratford, was fought only seventy-nine years before Shakspere's birth; and the country-side must have been full of tales and traditions of the Wars of the Roses; just as stories of Monmouth's rising in 1685 lingered for generations in Somerset. In like manner, the stirring events of the time of Henry VIII. and of Edward VI. must have been freely discussed in Shakspere's hearing, when a boy, by men of middle age who had witnessed or participated in them. The tradition that Elizabeth was so delighted with Falstaff in 'Henry the Fourth,' that she commanded an exhibition of the same character in love, and that this led to the production of the 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' may be nothing more than a gossiping story, but it is of such ancient date as to establish the early renown of the playwright.

Shakspere, however, if towering above all compeers, "in shape and gesture proudly eminent," was the leader of a distinguished group of poets who adorned the English Parnassus, and "wak'd to ecstasy the living lyre." The huge, burly, clever, but truculent Ben Jonson (1574–1637), as dogmatic as Dr. Samuel Johnson, and, also like him, often displaying a surly magnanimity, was contemporary to Shakspere, and survived him twenty-one years; holding sovereignty of the English Stage almost down to the time when it was swept away by the tornado of the Civil War. Drummond of Hawthornden has left a vivid delineation of him. The piece that established his early reputation was 'Every Man in his Humour'; written in 1598. Of his subsequent productions, the best known are 'Volpone,' or the Fox, dated 1605; 'The Silent Woman,' 1609; and 'The Alchemist,' 1610. These comedies are full of humour; employing the word in its true sense. Some of his lyrics are still popular; such as "Drink to me only with thine eyes"; and his famous lines on Shakspere, William Camden, Lord Bacon, and the Countess of Pembroke. His Captain Bobadil is an immortal character; and his delineation of Subtle is unsurpassed among portrayals of hypocrisy. His Masques, written for Court Pageants in the time of James I. and Charles I., are very graceful. His encounters of wit with Shakspere are described by Fuller in a well-known passage; and he is lauded by

Chapman, Drayton, Heywood, and numerous contemporaries. Thomas Heywood was one of the most fluent and indefatigable of dramatic writers, besides being a busy actor, like many of his craft. He boasted that he never obliterated a line, and that he had "an entire hand, or at least a main finger," in two hundred and twenty plays. Not more than a tenth of these survive, and the bare titles of many are unknown; as is the story of his life. He began to write before the end of the century, and he continued to use his facile pen down to 1640, and perhaps later.

Francis Beaumont (1580–1616) and John Fletcher (1579–1625), with John Ford (1586–1639), Philip Massinger (1583–1630), and John Marston, who died in 1633, are among the other great dramatists who render the close of the era so illustrious; though they really belong to the early Stuart period. Hallam places Massinger, as a tragic writer, second only to Shakspere, and in the higher comedy hardly inferior to Ben Jonson. His chief defect, in common with all the playwrights of that time, is unmitigated coarseness. Some of his humble companions and waiting-women would disgrace a penitentiary. Many of the plays of the period might have been written by Pagans; and the mere titles are often unsavoury. Massinger's 'New Way to Pay Old Debts,' with its Satanic hero, Sir Giles Overreach, is one of the few dramas that retain a perennial popularity. The original was Sir Giles Mompesson; and Justice Greedy is drawn from Sir Francis Michell; two of the hated monopolists of that day, whom the Parliament of 1621 brought to condign punishment for their rapacity. The grossness and immorality of the Stage, bad enough according to the treatise issued in 1597 by the "well-lettered and discreet" Sir John Harrington, himself no precisian, and confirmed by the tract written just before by Robert Greene, 'A Groat's Worth of Wit,' became much worse under the Stuarts. This accounts for the passionate hatred displayed by the Puritans. Just before the burst of poetic brilliancy which illumined Elizabeth's reign, making it what Thomson calls "the Aonian hive," the earliest works of literary criticism appeared. Chief among these are Sir Thomas Wilson's 'Arte of

Retorique' (1553), William Webbe's 'Discourse of English Poetrie' (1585), George Puttenham's 'Art of English Poesie' (1589), and Sir Philip Sidney's 'Defence of Poesy' (1595).

Edmund Spenser (1553–1599), the friend of Leicester, of Ralegh, and of Sidney, published in 1579 'The Shepherd's Calendar'; the earliest and the greatest English pastoral poem; consisting of twelve Eclogues, proportionate to the months. From his correspondence with Gabriel Hervey, it appears that he wrote other works; the titles alone of which remain. He returned in 1590 from a decade spent in Ireland as secretary to the Lord Deputy and clerk to the Irish Chancery Court. He brought over the first three books of the 'Faërie Queene.' The work appeared in portions during the next six years; with a poetical epistle to Ralegh prefixed, explanatory of the design and scope; and with a fulsome dedication to the Queen. It speedily became the delight of every accomplished gentleman, the model of every poet, and the solace of every soldier. There are said to have been twelve books; but, if so, half of them have vanished, like the lost books of Livy. Those printed are unequal in merit. The originality, richness, and variety of his allegorical personages and fictions, drawn from Arthurian legends, rival the splendour of the ancient classical mythology. He struck the key-note of the broad Puritanism of the future, which made duty the chief concern of life; but the courtiers, unfortunately, cared little for his moral teachings, and few of the Puritans understood his allegorical language. He depicts in glowing colours the manners and the life of his time; set in a framework of Celtic romance, for reasons similar to those which prompted the writing of More's 'Utopia.' However extraordinary and incongruous it may appear to modern readers, to the people of Spenser's day, accustomed to the recital of the deeds of Ralegh, of Drake, of Sidney, and of Hawkins, it was a piece of actual realism. The plan of the epic may have been borrowed from Ariosto; but the creations, the imagery, and the sentiment are Spenser's own. His language is copious, and he exhibits great skill in the management of his complicated rhymed stanzas. His versification is at once the most smooth

and the most resounding in the language. It is a labyrinth of sweet sounds, "in many a winding bout of linked sweetness long drawn out." He continued writing until his death in 1599; and his works have since appeared in numerous editions under efficient and appreciative editors. His allegorical style was copied by Giles Fletcher (1588–1623), in 'Christ's Victory'; and by his brother Phineas (1584–1650), in 'The Purple Island.' Dr. John Donne (1573–1631), Dean of St. Paul's, whom Ben Jonson praises as "the first poet of the world in some things," was the founder of a school of metaphysical poets; to employ a term which is somewhat infelicitous, though sanctioned by long usage.

The Sonnet, a favourite form of verse in the time of Elizabeth, was first introduced during her father's reign, by Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Earl of Surrey, from Italy, where it had been brought to perfection by Petrarch, Tasso, and Dante. All the great English writers of this form of verse, including Milton, who excelled in it, while adhering to fourteen lines, have differed in their arrangement. Soon after the middle of the century, English translations appeared of most of the renowned Italian writers. Edmund Fairfax rendered Tasso's 'Jerusalem Delivered,' in 1600, and dedicated it to the Queen. It is universally praised for its poetical beauty and grace of expression. Dryden ranked Fairfax with Spenser as a master of English, and Edmund Waller admitted having derived from him the harmony of his style. Other classical writers of Italy were presented to English readers; such as Ariosto by Sir John Harrington, and Petrarch by Sir Thomas North; of which Shakspere made admirable use in 'Coriolanus' and 'Julius Cæsar.' Ben Jonson's tragedies of 'Catiline' and 'Sejanus' are almost literal translations into verse from Tacitus, Sallust, and Cicero. Camoens, Boccaccio, Dante, and other great writers, were also clothed in English dress. Among other translations were the works of Seneca, Sophocles, Plautus, Virgil, Ovid, Pindar, and all the principal historians and poets of the ancient world.

It is needful to remember, however, that the intellectual outburst was restricted to a comparative few. It

was an age of credulity and superstition ; like the two centuries that preceded and followed it. A dread of witchcraft was universal. The country abounded in conjurors ; supposed to be proficient in the Black Art. Horoscopes, nativities, and portents were diligently studied. All the great English thinkers, such as Shakspere, Bacon, Ralegh, and Selden, like the most illustrious men on the Continent, believed in witches. The same opinion was cherished that prompted the Bull of Pope Innocent VIII. in 1484, complaining that some Sadducees in the Church threw obstacles, as far as they dared, in the way of punishing witches and wizards. The first English law against witchcraft was enacted under Henry VIII. It was made more stringent under James I. Jewel preached a sermon before Elizabeth on the dangerous prevalence of such offences. Joseph Glanvill, one of the early members of the Royal Society, a warm champion of the new experimental philosophy, and accounted among the advanced men of that day, trembled for religion if the belief in witches and apparitions were allowed to be assailed with impunity. He published a book on the subject, in 1666, and left materials for another, called 'Sadducismus Triumphans' ; issued after his death, with a commendatory preface by Henry More, the genial and learned Cambridge Platonist. His friend, Ralph Cudworth, one of the foremost of English philosophical theologians, regarded scepticism on this matter as having some hankering towards atheism. Richard Baxter published narratives of alleged witchcraft, on the information of Cotton Mather, of Boston, New England ; and pronounced that man an obdurate Sadducee who was not convinced. In a later work, 'The Certainty of the World of Spirits,' Baxter reiterated this judgment ; and his opinion is strongly expressed in other of his voluminous writings. His friend, the great Chief Justice Hale, presided in 1664 at one of the many trials of reputed witches, and expressed concurrence in the opinion of the reality of their influence, to which testimony had been borne in Court by that accomplished scholar and learned physician, Sir Thomas Browne (1605–1682), author of 'Religio Medici.' George Sinclair, professor of philosophy in Glasgow, published in 1685,

'Satan's Invisible World Displayed'; to prove the existence of devils, witches, and apparitions.

The persecution at Salem, New England, began subsequently to this trial, and ended in 1692; but it continued in the mother-country, where the law was not repealed until 1736. Twenty-two years after that date, John Wesley uttered a solemn protest against conceding to enemies of the Bible the unreality of witchcraft; which he held to be established beyond all dispute. Blackstone expressed at the same period a similar opinion in his 'Commentaries.' Between the time of the Stuart Restoration and 1718, no fewer than twenty-five books were published in support of this delusion; in which many excellent and eminent men shared. Even Addison defended it in the 'Spectator.' Three persons were executed at Exeter for witchcraft in 1682; and Dr. Samuel Parr (1747–1825) says that two were hung at Northampton in 1705, and five more in 1712. One was burned in Spain so late as 1781. Such facts must be borne in mind when judging of the intellectual character of the age. For lack of such reservations a factitious character has been given to it. John Foster (1770–1843), in his Essay on 'Popular Ignorance' justly comments on the illiteracy and degradation of the people at large, even when such literary giants were flourishing; and he uses trenchant language in regard to the governing classes, who, until very recent times, allowed "an incalculable and ever-increasing tribe of human creatures to grow up in a condition to show what a wretched and offensive thing is human nature left to itself."

Francis Bacon (1561–1626), the English Pythagoras, shares with the great dramatist the imperial throne of literature of that age; and, in a measure, of all time. Though, in the reign of James I., he became Lord Chancellor, Baron Verulam, and then Viscount St. Alban's, he is popularly, if inaccurately, called Lord Bacon; instead of what Macaulay styles the degrading title which could confer no dignity on the greatest of English philosophers. The son of a former Lord Keeper, nephew to Burghley, and noted as a boy for quickness and sagacity, he was well-known and highly esteemed in Elizabeth's Court. At the time of her death he was in his forty-second year.

Student, courtier, lawyer, philosopher, author, man of science and man of the world, he compassed the wide range of existing human knowledge, in a manner never attempted by Egyptian priests or Persian Magi; and established what has been regarded until recently as a new method of investigation. His 'Novum Organum,' published in 1620, was planned and commenced in early manhood, and occupied half a lifetime. It is but the fragment of a much larger work; projected, but never completed; and intended to embrace in six divisions the whole circle of the sciences. The portion issued was re-written twelve times, before he judged it worthy to appear. He accomplished what Aristotle attempted,—the unsealing and elucidation of the principles of Nature; just as Shakspere did perfectly what Æschylus did partially, in the unsealing of humanity. Schelling is reported to have said of the philosophy of Fichte that it appeared for a moment, like lightning, but kindled a fire which will burn for ever.

Ten of the famous 'Essays,' by which Bacon is best known, saw the light in 1597. An enlarged edition appeared in 1612. They were the first works of the kind in this country. What was thought of him by learned contemporaries appears from Ben Jonson's remark,—"The fear of all men was lest he should make an end." He began a digest of English law; a body of Natural History; and a philosophical romance. He wrote the 'History of Henry the Seventh'; a fragment of a larger projected work. His treatise on 'The Advancement of Learning,' published in 1605, was issued in an expanded form eighteen years later. His idea of the systematic classification of knowledge inspired the French Encyclopædists of the eighteenth century; for their works were the direct fruits of his magnificent conceptions, which especially guided the thoughts of Diderot. No more striking panegyric has ever been written than is to be found in D'Alembert's 'Preliminary Discourse.' Strange to say, of the numerous separate reprints of Bacon's famous work, nearly all of them follow the earlier and abbreviated form, and are full of typographical errors; as is the case with Milton and others. Even if the Father of Inductive Philosophy, as he is usually styled, over-

estimated the province of observation, and undervalued the use of deduction and hypothesis; if he failed in revealing the method of experimental research, and knew little of geometry and mathematics; if, as Hallam points out, he was more eminently the philosopher of human nature than of Nature herself; and if his classification of the sciences has been superseded, he was among the earliest to discern the true character of the positive philosophy in its application to moral and social duties. This honour is great and abiding fame. Moreover, the sciences were then in their infancy; and many of them, such as chemistry, geology, mineralogy, and zoology, were unborn. Scholars in the great Universities were undecided whether Copernicus (1473–1543) had fairly outreasoned Ptolemy in his theory of the solar system. Improving upon it, Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) and John Kepler (1571–1630) were calling modern astronomy into being. The former, the creator of experimental science, whose theory was rejected by Bacon, in the absence of full knowledge, had not then discovered the earth's motion, or devised the refracting telescope to aid his celestial observations. William Gascoygne (1621–1644) had not invented his simple but effective micrometer, by means of crossed fine wires in the focus of the telescope; enabling the observer to note with precision the phenomena of the heavenly bodies.

Christian Huyghens (1629–1695), of the Hague, mathematician, astronomer, mechanician, and physicist, had not carried out in Bacon's day the initial discovery of Galileo, and applied the oscillating pendulum to the clock; solving the celebrated problem as to the centre of oscillation, and determining the length of the pendulum, so as to measure time with greater accuracy than the sun; or made the other great physical discoveries with which his name is honourably identified. He devised new methods of grinding and polishing telescope lenses of enormous focal distances. Though Dr. Robert Hooke (1635–1703), professor of geometry in Gresham College, and secretary of the Royal Society, first propounded the wave or undulatory theory of light, Huyghens imparted reality to the conception, and established it on a basis that has proved immutable. He also gave practical

utility, by means of a coiled form, to Hooke's idea of regulating the movement of watches by the balance spring. He effected improvements in the air-pump and in the micrometer ; and discovered the laws of the collision of elastic bodies about the same time with Sir Christopher Wren and John Wallis. Hooke was a man of extraordinary inventive genius, and is justly regarded as one of the greatest philosophical mechanics. His sagacity amounted to intuition, in deducing correct general laws from meagre premisses. Nearly all the important philosophical discoveries and theories of that century were in part anticipated by him, such as the determination of the laws of the constrained motion of planets and the invention of the steam-engine. Among his own completed discoveries are the law of the extension and compression of elastic bodies, *ut tensio sic vis ;* the simplest theory of the arch ; anchor-escapement clocks ; and the permanency of the temperature of boiling water. The quadrant, the telescope, and the microscope owe to him some material improvements. To the clearness of his demonstrations Sir Isaac Newton was largely indebted in settling the theory of gravitation, and in preparing his development of the principle of accelerating force.

John Napier of Merchiston (1550–1617) had not invented logarithms ; doubling the life, as Laplace (1749–1827) said, of all who have to use abstruse mathematical calculations. The barometer was not available to measure heights and to foretell storms. Not until 1654 did Robert Boyle improve the air-pump, invented just before by Otto Guericke of Magdeburg ; thus advancing the science of pneumatics and opening up a wide field of natural philosophy. The microscope was in a rudimentary form. William Harvey (1578–1657) had not propounded his theory of the circulation of the blood. William Gilbert (1540–1603), president of the College of Physicians, did not discover until 1600 the fact of terrestrial magnetism, which, with electricity, he conjectured to be two allied emanations of a single force ; as Hans Christian Oersted and Michael Faraday have demonstrated. Bacon, however, rejected this, as he did other theories which have since been established ; causing Harvey to say of him that he wrote of science like a Lord Chancellor. Thomas

Willis (1621–1675) had not investigated the nerve-centre; showing that the brain is a congeries of organs, and the seat of moral and intellectual action. Descartes (1596–1650) had yet to commence his researches into the laws of motion, and to evolve his philosophical and mathematical systems. He was only twenty-five years of age when he made the famous resolution to take nothing as truth without clear knowledge that it is such by ascertaining the grounds of certitude. This was incarnated in several great English and French writers, and may be said to have reached its consummation in Hume. Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727) gathered up, extended and applied the discoveries of the Past, and started on that train of thought which led him to the development of the law of universal gravitation; and he discovered the key to the rainbow in the fact that light consists of rays of different colours and of diverse refrangibility. All these fruits of patient inquiry, tending to the enlargement of the human mind, to increased health and comfort, to general utility, and to added wealth, were waiting, in Bacon's time, their gradual development in the course of the next hundred years; to be followed, after a similar period, by extraordinary applications of science and ingenuity in the mechanical and industrial arts. William Whewell, in the 'History of Inductive Philosophy' has shown how it has added to the sum of human knowledge and happiness. At the close of the Elizabethan period, however, England had comparatively little share in scientific pursuits; and she was soon to be sucked into the whirlpool of the Civil War.

The quaint and crabbed rendering of the Book of Psalms "into English metre, by Thos. Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Ebrue, with Apt Notes to sing them withall," was issued in its complete form for the first time in 1562; appended to the Book of Common Prayer. Portions had been published before Sternhold's death in 1549. Such was the love of versifying Holy Writ, that the Acts of the Apostles were rhymed and set to music by Christopher Tye, and sung in the Chapel Royal of Edward VI. For the credit of the age, it must be admitted that the bald rhymes and barbarous doggerel, which some ridiculed as "Geneva jigs,"

never became popular; nor did similar attempts of what Thomas Warton calls "this infectious frenzy of sacred song," made at the same time by William Whittingham (1524-1580), the Puritan Dean of Durham, to versify the Athanasian Creed and the Ten Commandments. Sternhold and Hopkins were supplanted at the close of the seventeenth century—after an ineffectual attempt of the Long Parliament to enforce in England the Metrical Version of the Psalms by Francis Rous, still revered in Scotland—by Nahum Tate (1650–1715) and Nicholas Brady (1659-1726), whose version was attached by order to the Prayer Book, and came into general use. Tate was a dramatist, and succeeded Thomas Shadwell (1640-1692) as poet-laureate; but he is chiefly notorious for his mangled and mawkish adaptation of Shakspere's 'King Lear'; which he had the effrontery to call his own original story. This mutilated version held possession of the stage for a century and a half; from the time of Thomas Betterton (1635–1710) down to that of John Philip Kemble and Edmund Kean.

Considering the almost unlimited extent and the varied nature of modern hymnology, extending to thirty thousand in English, and to twelve times that number in other languages and in translations, it is difficult to realize that it was practically non-existent for the century and a half that followed the Reformation. The Rev. J. Julian deals very fully with this subject in his 'Dictionary.' The fact is that although well-known compositions by such early writers as Hilary and Ambrose, and their immediate successors, were designed to be sung by the whole congregation, they had come to be regarded as the appanage of the clergy and the choir; and the ejaculation, "Kyrie eleison," was the only part allotted in practice to the people. Public worship was a performance by a priest and by trained musicians. When the Bible was translated into the vernacular, and entered so largely into public service in the churches, a desire was awakened to adapt such portions as readily lent themselves to vocal use. The flow of song had been pent up for centuries; but burst forth when the flood-gates were opened. Cardinal Cajetan said of Luther,—"By his songs he has conquered us." The example spread over Europe. The rendering

of the Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins, with the somewhat meagre paraphrases that followed, met a want, in an imperfect fashion. No hymn-book, worthy of the name, appeared until that of George Wither, in 1623. His productions, with all their merit, could not supplant the jingles which had become sacred from the force of association. Addison's beautiful paraphrases, in the 'Spectator,' "The Lord my pasture"; "When all Thy mercies"; "The spacious firmament"; "How are Thy servants blest," and one or two others, less known, were regarded as elegant poems rather than as being intended or suited for public worship. Not until the time of Isaac Watts was there any systematic attempt to supply the want.

Some of the grandest and richest sacred melodies extant were composed during the latter portion of the sixteenth century and the early part of the one following; when Thomas Tallis, William Birde, Richard Farrant, Thomas Morley, John Dowland, Dr. John Bull, Thomas Ravenscroft, and other eminent composers flourished. They were precursors of Thomas Purcell, John Playford, William Boyce, William Croft, Henry Carey, and a host of sweet singers. The madrigal attained its highest perfection at this time. The virginal was the name of an instrument on which ladies played. Its rudimentary form was the monochord of the Middle Ages; which gave place at the beginning of the fifteenth century to the clavichord; and this to the virginal, the spinet and the harpsichord. Thin and twangy notes, usually ranging over four octaves, without modulation, were produced by quills being made to strike upon single strings. The modern piano-forte takes its name from a musical instrument by Paliarino, or Pagliarini, of Modena, who devised, in 1598, what he called the *pian e forte;* but nothing is known of its structure or effects. The real inventor was Bartolommeo Christofori, a Paduan harpsichord-maker, who, in 1709, completed keyed psalteries; although, probably, many attempts had been made before to apply a keyboard to a dulcimer, or hammers to a harpsichord. Two of his instruments, dated 1720 and 1726, are preserved in Florence. For a lengthened period the mechanism was clumsy, and the

effects were rude. Burney gives no date for the introduction into England of the first of the kind; but the arrival in London of J. C. Bach, in 1759, gave an impulse which John Broadwood's ingenuity and enterprise developed before the close of the century. All the really important later inventions are of English origin.

CHAPTER XLVII.

COMMON LIFE AND THE POOR LAW.

A.D. 1558–1603.

In the style of architecture commonly, but inaccurately, called Elizabethan, the front elevation was long, with wings projecting at right angles. The materials were usually red bricks; or a timber framework was covered with plaster, unless stone abounded in the locality. Burghley House, Knowle, Longleat, and Hatfield mansions are familiar specimens of Tudor buildings; but they are exceptional. The ordinary manor-house was far inferior. Not until the next reign did a great architect arise, in Inigo Jones (1572–1653). He carefully studied the masterpieces in France, Germany, and Italy; and was, in particular, a follower of the style of Andrew Palladio (1518-1580). The Banqueting House in Whitehall, the remaining portion of which is now used by the United Service Institution, is deemed his chief work. St. Paul's, Covent Garden, Surgeons' Hall, and the Water Gate at the foot of Buckingham-street, Strand, are other specimens. The rooms of dwelling-houses were insufficiently warmed by huge wood fires on the hearth, in cavernous chimney-places; but the great destruction of woods led to the introduction of sea-coal; restricted by Proclamation to common purposes. The smoke nuisance began to make itself felt, and repeated Orders in Council were issued in vain with a view to remedy it. The expense of glass was so heavy that when the Northumberland family left Alnwick Castle for London, the windows were taken out and laid up in safety.

Lattice-work, horn, oiled paper, and other substitutes were commonly used. Chimneys are frequently spoken of; instead of the smoke being left to find its way by doors or windows, or through a hole in the roof. Attempts to check the growth of the metropolis were often made; but ineffectually. A Proclamation of 1602 forbade any further extension within three miles of the City gates, because of the alleged impossibility of obtaining adequate supplies of food, and the liability of a crowded population to pestilence. Tenements that had been divided and sub-let within a decade were to be restored to a single occupancy. Unfinished houses, and all shops and sheds erected during the previous seven years, were to be pulled down forthwith. Labourers' cottages were not to be built in the country without annexing four acres of land to each. It must be remembered that only about one-fourth of the land was under cultivation; and that of a rude character. The rest was still covered with fen, or heath, or forest; where not devoted to sheep-pasture.

The estimated population of London was about eighty thousand, within the area comprised by the Bills of Mortality; which took their rise in 1592. Along the Strand was a thin fringe of houses, with gardens and grounds extending to the river, or overlooking the open country to the North. City streets were narrow and tortuous lanes. Thomas Dekker gives a vivid picture of London life in his quaint work on the 'Seven Deadly Sins.' Medicine and surgery remained in their primitive state. No changes were made until the advent of Thomas Sydenham (1624–1689) and William Harvey (1578–1657). The absence even of rudimentary sanitary arrangements; disregard of the primary laws of health; and criminal ignorance of physiology contributed to maintain a high rate of mortality, especially under frequent outbreaks of pestilence. The famous waterworks on London Bridge, then covered with shops, were constructed in 1582 by Peter Morris, a Dutchman; and through them the Thames water, impregnated with sewage, was pumped up for the drinking supply of large districts for more than two centuries. Looking-glasses were first introduced about this time, to supersede mirrors of polished

steel. Clocks began to be somewhat common in good houses, and many were richly adorned. Turkey carpets are mentioned; but were used more for covering tables than the floors. These, in rooms of ceremony, were matted or polished, and sometimes inlaid with choice woods; the floors of ordinary rooms still being strewn with rushes. A rich carpet or green cloth was spread before the throne on occasions of State. Knights who received the accolade at coronations and in Court were styled "carpet knights," in distinction from those created on the battle field or for military service. A unique description of the gardens and pleasure grounds attached to stately mansions is given by Bacon in his forty-seventh Essay; with particulars of the trees, shrubs, plants, flowers, fruits, and vegetables then grown.

The nobility had discarded the huge joints of salted beef, and the platters of wood and pewter; with the swarms of jesters, tumblers, and harpers, formerly deemed indispensable to a banquet-room. A stately ceremonial was considered to be indicative of politeness. The table was daily set with a variety of dishes. The guests washed before they dined; rose-water and perfumery being supplied; and they were ushered in dignified order to the table according to their rank. The hat was generally worn during the banquet; enabling the wearer gracefully to pledge a health, or to acknowledge a compliment, by doffing it. Other tables were set for the higher servants and for guests whose rank did not entitle them to sit at the chief table. In this manner, fifty or sixty persons were daily entertained; a number far short of those armies of retainers who had feasted in baronial castles in former times. Bread and meat were served on the point of the knife. The fingers of the left hand made repeated visits to the platter; as forks continued to be strangers to the English dinner-table. When first introduced, they were denounced by some preachers; who deemed it an insult to Providence not to touch meat with the fingers. Knives were first made in England in 1568. Horn spoons are mentioned as instruments for eating furmenty porridge. In ordinary families, the dinner hour was eleven, and the supper hour six. These were the staple meals of the day. In October, 1578, the Assize of

Bread was fixed for London at twenty-eight ounces the penny wheaten loaf; whereupon the bakers memorialized Burghley that they could not 'keep such weight on account of the bad harvest, unless the exportation of corn was prohibited.

One Mistress Dinghen van den Plasse, a Fleming, came to this country in 1564, according to Stow, and gained much renown and money by her skill in the art of clear-starching. The manufacture of pins was also introduced about the same time. Ladies' dresses had hitherto been fastened with buckles, ribbons, laces, clasps, and skewers of brass, silver, or gold. The woollen trade continued to be the staple industry; but spinning, weaving, fulling, dyeing, and other branches were performed at home; mainly by refugees from the Low Countries and by others taught by them; instead of sending the raw material to Flanders, to be brought back as finished cloth, as had been done for centuries. Norwich was the centre of the worsted trade, which spread throughout the Eastern counties. The broadcloths of the West of England also were becoming famous; and mention began to be made of Manchester friezes, York coverlets, and Sheffield cutlery. Silk-weaving was introduced from France by the Huguenots, who sought refuge here after the Massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572; and it soon became an important and a lucrative industry. The stocking-frame was invented about 1580 by William Lee, a poor student of St. John's College, Cambridge. It is traditionally said to have been devised while watching his wife plying her knitting-needles. Not meeting with adequate encouragement, he carried his machine into France. It is recorded that, in 1562, the Queen's silk-woman, Mistress Montague, presented her with a pair of black hand-knit silk stockings, made in England; which pleased her so much that she would never after wear cloth hose. Kent and Sussex still had a monopoly of iron; and Cornwall of tin. It was also beginning to be renowned for copper. The coasts swarmed with fishing-boats; especially from the Thames along the South to the Atlantic.

Philip Stubbes published, in 1585, a quaint book entitled, 'An Anatomy of Abuses'; in which he has

left a graphic and an amusing account of the dress, diet, and manners of the times. He satirizes the fashions of the day; is specially severe on "the Devil's liquor, starch"; reviles the wearers of ruffs; objects to ladies who coloured their faces and who built their hair to a monstrous height by the aid of false hair, "propped under with forks, wires, and such like grim, stern monsters." Scents and perfumes, nosegays and posies, earrings and looking-glasses excited his ire; with the aping of masculine dress and manners by women. Such attempts to curb the caprices of fashion proved futile. Lord Keeper Egerton, in 1599, told the gentlewomen of the land, during the progress of a case in the Star Chamber, what they might wear; adding,—"The excess of apparel in merchants' wives and daughters, and in all degrees, is a pestilent canker in the Commonwealth, and a confusion of all dignities: a means by which persons of small estate do prodigally waste their patrimony." All his advice and threats were in vain. Even the Queen, with her buckram rule, found it impracticable to carry existing sumptuary laws into execution. A Proclamation was issued, July 6, 1598, for the repressing of inordinate excesses in apparel. A table was drawn up restricting the use of articles of attire, but with a long list of exceptions; showing the inutility of all such artificial restraints. The objections of Stubbes were based upon moral and religious grounds; those of the Queen—whose precepts were not enforced by her example—rested upon economic grounds; but neither succeeded. The enormous wide breeches were ridiculed by the satirists of that day. Sometimes they were so inordinately stuffed and wadded that a gallery or scaffold was erected to accommodate members who wore these monstrosities. The word "bombast" originally signified the material with which they were padded. It is frequently used by Elizabethan writers in this sense; and by a natural transition it came to denote an inflated, high-sounding form of speech. John Bulwer, who flourished about the middle of the seventeenth century, tells, in his 'Artificial Changeling,' of a gallant, in whose immense trunk hose a small hole was torn by a nail of the chair on which he sat, so that on rising to bow to some ladies, the bran

poured forth as from a mill that was grinding, without his perceiving it until half the cargo was unladen upon the floor; and he stood there, diminished to a spindle.

Travelling was performed on horseback. The Queen usually rode on a pillion behind her Chamberlain, but for purposes of state, and for the accommodation of the sick and aged, there was the horse-litter. During the reign of Mary, a rude waggon was sometimes used by the ladies of the court; but this was an uncomfortable vehicle; being only a huge timber ark on wheels, without springs. The coach proper was introduced into England by William Boonen, a Dutchman, in 1564, and the astonishment its appearance excited is described by Taylor the water-poet. An outcry was raised about the scarcity of leather, from the quantity used in coach building. Regular conveyances were unknown. Relays of post-horses were kept on the great roads, the charge being one shilling for the first day, and eightpence per day afterwards. The passion for gaming led to the use of loaded dice, called Fulhams, or Fullams; from that suburb being the resort of the most notorious blacklegs. Dice made with a cavity were called Gourds. They are mentioned in the 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' and in 'Hudibras.' Dr. A. B. Grosart has issued, among his numerous interesting and valuable reprints, a work, first published in 1595,—'England's Address to her Three Daughters.' It belongs to the class of political romances; like Plato's 'Republic,' More's 'Utopia,' Harrington's 'Oceana,' Bishop Hall's 'Mundus' and Swift's 'Gulliver.' It is designed to picture an ideal country, by force of contrast with what was deemed the degenerate and wicked England of the period; especially in such matters as excess in dress, gambling, drunkenness, and usury. This country was known on the Continent as the purgatory of servants and the hell of horses; because the former were treated with arrogance and harshness, and the latter were cruelly overworked.

The operation of various Statutes of Labourers has been explained in previous Chapters. By an Act passed in 1563, magistrates in Quarter Sessions were again empowered, like their predecessors in the previous century, to fix the rates of wages for husbandmen and

artificers. All previous enactments, thirty-four in number, since 23 Edward III., were repealed. That they had been evaded or inoperative seems to have aroused no suspicion of their inutility, or of the folly of persistence in such a course; for it was provided by the new measure that every single person under thirty years of age, not possessed of forty shillings a year, and not otherwise employed, should be compelled to work as a yearly servant in the same craft to which he had been brought up. Dismissal was not allowed, except for cause shown before two justices; nor at the end of each year without three months' warning. Persons between the ages of fifteen and sixty, not otherwise employed or apprenticed, were to serve in husbandry. No servant was to leave a city or a parish without a testimonial; under pain of imprisonment; the possession of a forged one entailed a whipping; and no master might take a servant without one; under a penalty of five pounds. Assessors were to fix the hours of work; never fewer than eight daily; with a deduction of a penny for each hour in default. Those who struck work were liable to a month's imprisonment, and a fine of five pounds. Every justice absent from the rating sessions was to be fined ten pounds; but was to receive five shillings—then the pay of a county member of Parliament—for each day spent in enforcing the Act. Any master paying higher than the fixed wages was to be fined five pounds and imprisoned for ten days. Servants receiving such wages were to be imprisoned for twenty-one days, and the contract declared void. Other clauses regulated apprenticeship in various trades. Another Act, in 1596, extending the provisions to weavers, remained in force until the year 1824, when Joseph Hume was mainly instrumental in securing a modification of the statutes passed from time to time, restraining workmen from combination, and punishing with harshness all who offended.

Ruggles and Eden, in their respective works on the state of the poor, give instances of the rates of wages fixed. The information has been considerably extended by the late Thorold Rogers, in his 'History of Agriculture and Prices,' and in his 'Six Centuries of Work and Wages.' Taking sixty years from 1583, the average

weekly wages of a carpenter were 6s. 2¾d.; a mason, 6s. 5¾d.; a bricklayer, 6s. 4¾d.; a pair of sawyers, 12s. 1½d.; a plumber, 7s. 10¼d.; a joiner, 7s. 3¾d.; for digging, hedging, or ditching, 4s. 10d.; and an ordinary agricultural labour, 3s. 5½d. The theory laid down was that wages were to be regulated by the rise and fall of the necessaries of life. In practice, this was ignored. Instead of wages being made to "conform to the plenty and scarcity of the time," they were sometimes fixed at a lower rate in dear seasons. The extraordinary disparity is shown at the close of the sixteenth century, when the prices of necessaries fluctuated, owing to alternations o dearth and plenty. Thus, in 1584, wheat was 20s. a quarter, and the weekly average of skilled artisans' earnings was 5s. 1½d. In 1586, the amounts were respectively 31s. and 5s. 4d.; the following year, 45s. 0d. and 5s.; in 1591, 25s. 4d. and 4s. 11d.; in 1596, 40s. 0d. and 5s. 2d.; in 1598, 52s. 4d. and 5s. 1d.; and in 1602, 24s. 2d. and 5s. 2d. Though the prices of wheat continued to vary, there was only a slight difference in wages down to the Commonwealth, when they averaged 7s. 10d.; the average price of wheat being 35s. 2d., with the exception of two years of drought. For two centuries prior to the Statute of 1563, the landed interest, which predominated in the legislature, persistently tried to force down wages by artificial restrictions. By the Statute of 1495, the wages fixed enabled an agricultural labourer to purchase, with fifteen weeks' work, three quarters of wheat, three of malt, and two of oatmeal. An artisan could obtain the same quantity by ten weeks' labour. The latter must have worked for seventy-one weeks a century afterwards, and the agricultural labourer more than two years, in order to purchase a like amount of provisions at the prices then ruling. Social conditions had changed, and various circumstances combined to bring about a rise in prices, and especially to effect an increase in rents; but without a corresponding improvement in wages. It is indisputable that the Act of 1563 tended to degrade and impoverish the labourer. It subsequently found a potent ally in the Statute of 1662, that fixed a parochial settlement, and encouraged sordid dishonesty among landlords. They alone are responsible

for the measure, and for the scheme of which it formed a part. The law did its best to make the labourer a serf, without any land; and to alter for the worse his position, compared with what it was formerly.

Withal, the nuisance and the mischief of pauperism had increased; and how to deal with it was a perplexing problem. The severity of the Act of 1536 (see Chapter XXXVIII.) prevented its enforcement. Even in that merciless age, men shrunk from whipping, ear-cropping, and hanging sturdy vagabonds. "Foolish pity of them that should have seen the laws executed" is assigned as a reason for the repeal in the first year of Edward VI. Another attempt was made to turn "the sturdy and valiant rascal" to some useful account. An able-bodied vagrant roaming about with no means of support, refusing work, and persisting in mendicancy; or a labourer incorrigibly idle or running away from his employment, was to be brought before two justices. On proof of the offence, he was to be branded on the shoulder with a letter V; denoting that he was a vagabond. Then was added a provision which defeated itself; more by the revolting name than by the thing signified. It resembled the system which until recent years prevailed in the penal settlements in the colonies of England, where convicts were hired out, or virtually sold for a time, to such persons as chose to engage their services. The Statute of 1547, permitted justices, after ordering the vagabond to be branded, to adjudge him a slave for two years to any person demanding him, to be fed on bread and water and refuse meats, and caused to work by beating, chaining, or otherwise. If he ran away, he was to be branded on the cheek with the letter S, and adjudged a slave for life. If he ran away again, he was to suffer death as a felon. In the event of no one offering to take him, he was to be set to work in chains on the highway, or at some common service for the good of the town. This Statute was repealed in less than three years; and that of 1531 was revived, with some additions, by way of stimulating local charity. The response must have been insufficient; for it was re-enacted in 1555, and again in 1563. Any person "obstinately refusing to give weekly to the relief of the

poor according to his ability," was to be bound over to appear at the next Sessions. The Justices were then "charitably and gently to persuade and move the said obstinate person" to do his part. If he still refused, they were to tax him according to their discretion. Failure to pay involved imprisonment until he complied.

Persuasions and threats proving ineffectual, an Act of 1572 gave Justices discretionary power to tax every inhabitant for the purpose of relieving the poor, and to direct the application of the money. Previous enactments were repealed. Every beggar above fourteen was to be apprehended and tried at the Sessions, and, "if convicted, to be grievously whipped, and burnt through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about, except some honest person will take such offender into his service for a year." A second offence was to be treated as felony, unless the man was taken into service—always meaning thereby, slavery—for two years. For a third offence there was no escape from death. This severe Act applied not only to avowed mendicants and idle persons, but to those "whole and mighty in body, having neither land nor master," nor able to show how they got their living; and all labourers loitering, or refusing to work for the wages commonly given. The Act devised a plan of relief for the aged, impotent, and deserving poor. Such were to be provided for in their respective localities by an assessment upon the inhabitants; made by the justices, and collected weekly by overseers appointed for that purpose. Refusal to contribute, or dissuading others, entailed imprisonment; but aggrieved persons might appeal to the Sessions. Justices were empowered to allocate the poor among neighbouring parishes; and to devote part of the amount raised to setting to work such as were capable. Refusal to settle in the places fixed, or persistence in begging, involved whipping and imprisonment. Four years later, in 1576, a measure was passed for providing Houses of Correction for incorrigible vagabonds and beggars; with materials for their enforced labour.

The Domestic Series of State Papers contain numerous certificates sent to the Council respecting the

punishment of vagabonds. Among the Harleian MSS. is one (No. 304) giving the rules laid down by the Suffolk Justices at Bury, April 22, 1589. The keeper of the House of Correction was to receive a stipend of thirty pounds. He was to enter in a book the names of all persons committed; the dates of reception and discharge; "with such other marks whereby they may be known if they shall come again to the said house." Hedge-breakers, stealers of wood, poultry, fruit, and other articles, were to receive six stripes; and ten for a second offence. Sturdy rogues, in addition to twelve stripes, were to have their safe custody ensured by a clog, chain, collar of iron, or manacle. The whips were to be made of two cords, without knots; and the stripes to be inflicted on the bare shoulders. Unruly and stubborn persons were to be corrected more frequently, "and used with harder shackles, thinner diet, and harder labour, until brought to reasonable obedience." Labour was to commence at five in the Winter and at four in the Summer. "At their first uprising, all of them to come together and reverently kneel down and join in prayer, distinctly and modestly, after one that shall be appointed to read the Confession set down in the beginning of the Common Prayer, the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of Belief, the Ten Commandments, and a short giving of thanks for benefits received; and after that the prayer for the whole estate of Christ's Church." Work was to continue until seven at night, and to conclude with prayers, including more thanks for "benefits received." Swearing and blasphemy were to be punished, after admonition, with whipping. Meals consisted, on flesh days, of eight ounces, Troy weight, of rye bread, a pint of porridge, a quarter of a pound of flesh, and a pint of beer at three shillings a barrel; all served twice during the day; and on fish days, a good herring or a quarter of a pound of cheese in lieu of meat. Those working well to be "rewarded with a little bread and beer between meals"; and those who refused to work to have bread and beer only until they complied.

In 1598, two more Acts were passed, but the provisions do not call for remark, as they were superseded four years later by one that became the basis of the modern

Poor-Law system. From two to four overseers in every parish, being substantial householders, were to be nominated in Easter week for the purpose of carrying out the provisions. Every occupier of lands, houses, tithes, mines, and works was to be taxed for the following purposes:—to set children to work whose parents could not maintain them; to provide employment for all persons without means; to relieve such as could not work through infirmity; and to apprentice destitute children. Thus the system of compulsory taxation, with local management, was adopted as the only way of meeting a difficulty which permissive legislation and voluntary charity, backed by clerical exhortations and threats, had failed to remedy. Overseers were to meet at least monthly to discuss how their trust might be discharged. Within four days of the end of their year of office, they had to render to two justices a true account of receipts and disbursements, and to hand the balance to their successors. They had power to levy a distress for unpaid assessments; and on failure of sufficient means defaulters might be imprisoned. Parents, grandparents, and children, if able to assist their impotent relatives, were to do so. The first almshouses built in England, after the Suppression of the Monasteries, distinct from the older hospitals, as homes for the aged poor, were erected at Greenwich, by William Lambard, about 1594. His example was followed by other benevolent persons in various parts of London and in many country towns; but, unfortunately, the inevitable tendency of all benefactions, however well meaning, is towards waste and misappropriation. Hence it is not surprising that, in not a few cases, almshouses have vanished, or there is only a literal fulfilment of the testator's wishes as to the number of recipients; notwithstanding the enormous increase in the value of property.

Such were the measures devised by the practical statesmanship of three centuries ago, in order to work out a social problem that has always been difficult. On the whole, it must be admitted that the task was undertaken with an honest and a patriotic desire to accomplish it thoroughly. Some of the methods reveal the character of the times; for which the members of Parliament

and of the Council cannot be held personally responsible. The progressive, wise, and, for the most part, humane character of such legislation is the more observable by comparison with the earlier Statutes of Labourers. The grave dangers which it was designed to remedy were fairly encountered, and, as far as possible, remedied. Later circumstances demanded, as was inevitable, and later experience devised, modifications, extensions, and improvements in the system; but all of these have been successful or have failed in proportion as they acted upon or as they violated the two great principles of the Elizabethan legislation; namely, imposing local responsibility for the relief of local distress, with adequate powers to deal with it; and the careful maintenance of a distinction between the unfortunate and deserving poor on the one hand, and idle, thriftless, dissolute vagabondage on the other. It is only in this direction that the Œdipus can be found who will solve the ancient and perplexing riddle propounded by this social Sphinx. Well-meaning but foolish persons make a great mistake by indiscriminate charity; which only aggravates the evils it hopes to relieve. The modern official tendency with the huge centralizing and bureaucratic body known as the Local Government Board is to interfere unduly with self-government, and to impose numberless petty checks and restraints that are irritating in their application and pernicious in their results.

Under the Tudor legislation the parochial system was perfected, as a unit for purposes of local administration; apart from its ancient and restricted use as an ecclesiastical area. Overseers of the poor and the highways formed the connecting link between the parish and the State. The maintenance of highways and bridges was placed on a sounder basis, and under the control of the ratepayers, subject to local Justices of the Peace. By the 5 Eliz. c. 13, the provisions of the ancient Statute of Winchester, 1285, regulating the breadth and clearance of the highways, were specialized into orders respecting their repair and drainage, erecting sign-posts and milestones, and removing nuisances of all kinds. These duties were devolved upon surveyors elected by the parishes; and their enforcement rested

with the justices. Dike-unions for drainage were formed of the persons locally interested. Improved regulations were framed for carrying out a rudimentary system of local Commissioners of Sewers; created in former times. The great scheme of fen-drainage in the Eastern Counties, for which, with improved and scientific methods of agriculture, England was mainly indebted to industrious refugees from the Netherlands, was practically initiated in the reign of James I.; following, on a large and comprehensive scale, attempts made by the monks in the Middle Ages. Various persons, called Undertakers, were allowed to execute the work at their own risk and charges; in consideration of receiving defined portions of the land reclaimed. The Bedford Level embraces an area of about three hundred thousand acres in the six counties drained into the Wash; and is so called after Francis, Earl of Bedford, who commenced the arduous and expensive task in 1634. Other bodies have since been created under Parliamentary powers; and immense tracts, once submerged, are now fertile pastures and arable lands.

With this record ends what may be termed an Era of Progress; ranging over the reign of Elizabeth. It was followed by a period of Pause and Reaction.

Period IX.—PAUSE AND REACTION.

A.D. 1603–1640.

Chapter.

48.—Kingcraft.
49.—Pioneers of Liberty.
50.—Planting of New England.
51.—Parliamentary Struggles.
52.—The Petition of Right.
53.—Government by Prerogative.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

KINGCRAFT.

A.D. 1603–1625.

JAMES THE SIXTH of Scotland, and the First of England (b. 1566, r. 1603–1625), had lived upon the expectation of succeeding to the English Crown. His claim was based on his being the next surviving member of the royal stock, through his great-grandmother, Margaret Tudor, sister to Henry VIII., who was authorized by three Acts of Succession, 1534–1543, to devise by letters-patent or by will in the event of certain contingencies. Sir Robert Cecil (1550–1612), the second son of Lord Burghley, and afterwards Earl of Salisbury, had been appointed Secretary of State on the death of his father. He kept James informed of the posture of affairs; although the correspondence was not suspected at the time, and was not discovered for two centuries. He made prompt arrangements for a peaceable accession. His recompense consisted in filling high official positions until his death. He also drew a secret pension of fifteen hundred pounds a year from Spain; like nearly all the public men of his day. It was cheaper to purchase them than to carry on a war. James was only too glad to leave his Northern kingdom. His parting promise, to revisit it at least once in three years, was soon forgotten. Only once, and then not until 1617, did he again cross the Tweed for a short time. Much has been written of his personal appearance; ungainly, shambling, rickety, slobbering, and goggle-eyed. He was styled by Sully, the French Minister, "the most learned fool in Christendom." When his tutor, George Buchanan, was asked how he came to form such a pedant, the reply was that it was the best he could make of him. Sir Walter Scott's delineation, in the 'Fortunes of Nigel,' rests on contemporary statements. Macaulay's opinion is that James "was made up of two men: a witty, well-read scholar, who wrote, disputed, and harangued; and a nervous, drivelling idiot, who acted." This was an anticipation of a

later theory of psychology, popularized in R. L. Stevenson's romance of 'Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.'

With all his boasted wisdom and astuteness, James knew as much as a troglodyte of the people over whom he nominally ruled. He was devoid of common sense and of moral principle. No dependence could be placed on his word. He was always boasting of what he called Kingcraft; which simply meant the accomplishment of his personal will by evasion, duplicity, chicanery, and crooked purposes. His belief in the royal supremacy was equalled only by his belief in himself. With every disposition to maintain Tudor absolutism, he had not, fortunately for England, the capacity to effect his purpose, or the skill to disguise it. His personality is not worth consideration, save for the fact that he brought the regal office into contempt, and entailed upon his son and successor a struggle and a crisis that could only be decided by the arbitrament of the sword. Churchill, in the second part of his poem of 'Gotham,' depicts the character and reign of James in some trenchant lines; and says that he "left behind, a curse to all his line, the bloody legacy of Right Divine." This portentous pedant and feeble autocrat set himself to resist popular rights; to impose taxes of his own will; to give to Proclamations the authority of Statutes; to force Protestantism on Ireland and Prelacy on Scotland. He yielded to the malign influence and became the puppet of two mushroom noblemen whom his unwise favouritism had created; Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, and George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Both of them were adventurers; able and accomplished, but unscrupulous; and of unsavoury reputation. Their scandalous profligacy; their insatiable greed; their vulgar display; their insolence and arrogance, did much to arouse the popular storm that eventually swept away the Stuarts. Their reckless wastefulness and misgovernment, combined with the utter lack of principle and the contemptible character of James, speedily brought down England from the high position to which she had attained, and made her the derision of France and Spain. The immorality that broke out after the Restoration was not so much a recoil from the supposed austerities of the Commonwealth, as a return to the swine's trough and

the wild orgies of the worthless associates of James I. His treatment of handsome boys was an open scandal. He died at the age of fifty-nine, from an accumulation of disorders; the result of a career of debauchery; and his sensual tastes re-appeared in his grandsons. Sir Anthony Weldon's 'Court of James I.' is a dark chronicle of the age.

Desirous to ascertain his intentions, the Puritans submitted the Millenary Petition; so-called because those who approved of it were said to approach one thousand in number. It avowed sincere affection for the Church and for the King, while repudiating as a calumny the charge of faction or schism. It sought relief from certain matters of ritual and of discipline; and reforms in the methods of appointing clergymen and in the laws and usages of the ecclesiastical courts. James promised to fix a day for the discussion of the various points raised. It was hoped that his Presbyterian training in Scotland, where he had extolled the Kirk as the sincerest in the world, and denounced the Anglican service as "an evil-said Mass in English," would dispose him to regard with favour those who, being Puritan Episcopalians, desired a further and a complete Reformation. They had long anticipated his coming to the throne as the day of emancipation and triumph for themselves. How little they had to expect was soon made apparent. His real sentiments towards the Puritans, whom he ignorantly confounded with the Presbyterians of the North, were already on record. His 'Basilikon Doron,' a manual on the principles of government, written for his son, had been issued five years before. In it he described Puritans—to render his barbarous and phonetic Scotch into modern English—as "very pests in the Church and commonwealth; whom no deserts can oblige, neither oaths nor promises bind; breathing nothing but seditions and calumnies; aspiring without measure; railing without reason; and making their own imaginations the square of their conscience." He knew that the spirit of their teaching and the logical consequences of their principles were inimical to the pretence of the Divine Right of Kings and to the monstrous dogma of Passive Obedience. The clergy loudly proclaimed the duty of unquestioning submission to the Crown, so long as this served to advance the

interests and to strengthen the power of the priesthood; basing their preposterous assumptions on a strained interpretation of Romans xiii. 1–7. Nothing is easier than to pervert Scripture from its natural and primary meaning, by a disregard of the local or special circumstances in which a passage occurs. This has been a favourite device in every age. The Bible has been made to appear to sanction the most extraordinary doctrines and practices, by wrenching isolated texts out of their connection, or by straining them to support a modern theory. The obvious meaning of the citation is that the early Christians were not to regard themselves as exempt from the duties and restraints necessary to the existence of civil society and to the maintenance of justice and good order. No one but a despot or a priest would dream of finding in the words the outrageous doctrine of non-resistance and blind obedience under all circumstances.

In the Lambeth Library there is a printed copy of a tract, dated 1609, conjecturally written by Henry Jacob, the Separatist minister, then an exile in Holland, and entitled, 'An Humble Supplication for Toleration,' addressed to James I.; with marginal notes in his handwriting. There are not a few such phrases as,—"A presumptuouse lye."—"A false and impudentlie bolde assertion."—"A notorious and shameless lye."—"A vyle manifest lye."—"A senceles and savourles calumnie."—"A number of ydle trattills huddillit up together."—"A villanouse skorne of my 'Basilikon Doron.'"—"An ignorant lye."—"Lyes and dreames."—"Heapes of senceles calumnies." Such were the epithets, expressed in his own broad and uncouth Doric, by which the British Solomon stigmatized those who differed from him. He never forgot or forgave Andrew Melville for telling him in a public audience in 1596 that he was God's silly vassal, and that his king-hip was subordinate to Christ's, as embodied in the Kirk. Probably this had not a little to do with the four years that Melville afterwards spent in the Tower of London, for alleged attacks upon prelates and the Liturgy, when attending the Hampton Court Conference. Nor did James forget that his tutor, George Buchanan (1506–1582), in a book published in Edinburgh in 1580, had

asserted the unpalatable doctrines that regal government arises from popular election; that a compact exists between the monarch and the people; that if he breaks it, and is guilty of oppression, all his rights are forfeited, his subjects are relieved from their obligations, are at liberty to war against him, and, if necessary, to put him to death as a tyrant. John Knox held the same doctrines; as did a long line of sturdy Presbyterians.

Bacon intervened in the dispute, on the same lines and for the same end as he did in 1589, when he circulated his manuscript tract referred to in the forty-third Chapter. He presented to James a memoir, entitled,—'Certain Considerations touching the better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England.' Abounding with sober sense; well balanced in its allowances and limitations; moderate, judicious, and practical in its advice, it seemed likely, if acted upon, to harmonize all reasonable differences, and to repress extreme and perverse individualism. It justifies innovations and reconstructions; and tells the King that the opening of a reign is an opportune time for making them; but protests against modelling all reformation after one pattern. Bacon utters words of wisdom about the government of bishops; the Liturgy; ceremonies; subscription; preaching; the abuse of excommunication; non-residence; pluralities, and the maintenance of the ministry. If a spirit of concession had prevailed on the side of the prelates, and if James, instead of constituting himself an advocate and a partisan, had followed the advice tendered, subsequent troubles might have been spared. It is not surprising, however, that the famous Hampton Court Conference, in January, 1604, for the professed settlement of ecclesiastical differences and difficulties, was used only for regal and prelatical purposes. Fuller gives copious particulars; derived from the highly-coloured narrative by Dr. Barlow, Dean of Chester, who was present; and adds,—"The Nonconformists complained that the King sent for their divines, not to have their scruples satisfied, but his pleasure propounded; not that he might know what they could say, but what he would do in the matter." The King himself, in a letter to Scotland, said,—"I peppered them soundly."

Sir John Harrington, who was no Puritan, styles the King's remarks upbraidings, rather than arguments; and adds,—"He told them that they wanted to strip Christ again; and bid them away with their snivelling." Their demands, similar to those in the Millenary Petition, were not excessive; but they were peremptorily refused, because savouring of Presbyterianism, which he hated. "A Scottish Presbytery," he said, "as well fitteth with Monarchy as God with Devil. No Bishop! no King!" He added,—"If this be all your party hath to say, I will make them conform, or else do worse"; and that he would "harry them out of the country." The so-called Conference broke up. It was a hollow mockery; intended to make it appear that the claims had been considered; but really, like the one at the Savoy in the time of Charles II., to discover what was wanted, in order to refuse and exclude. Once more the opportunity for a healing policy and a general comprehension was wilfully neglected. Some of the prelates lauded James as a paragon of wisdom and piety; comparing him to St. Ambrose and St. Augustine. At the very time of this adulation, the royal manners and morals were being ridiculed on the Stage; and the sterner Puritans were using language similar to that in which the prophet Elijah rebuked Ahab and Jezebel. The King's pompous nothings, labouring for utterance on a tongue too large for his mouth, out of which the saliva ran more freely than his words, were intended to overawe and abash the five representatives of the Puritans. The Separatists were not recognised in the Conference by either side. A Proclamation was issued for a rigid enforcement of the Act of Uniformity; and the bishops were ordered to proceed against such as refused.

The only concession made at the Conference was to a request for a new translation of the Bible. This was a sudden thought of the learned Dr. John Reynolds; and not a result of consultation or general desire, nor was it the act of the Puritans as a body. The request was granted; not to please them, but in the hope of neutralizing the effect of the Genevan issues in circulation; with what was regarded as their objectionable Presbyterian bias. That Version contained notes which

favoured the rights of the people against princely injustice and prelatical tyranny, and was, therefore, especially distasteful to James; while the renderings of certain ecclesiastical phrases were as obnoxious to the bishops. Some of them at first opposed the scheme, but were overruled; and in June, 1604, a list of fifty-four divines and scholars was issued under a Royal Commission. How they were chosen is not known; but the Puritans were carefully excluded, with only four exceptions; one being Dr. Reynolds, the President of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, who mooted the project. It was completed in 1610, and issued the following year. Only forty-seven took an active part in the work. The names are given by Burnet, who is said to have copied them from the papers of Ravis, Bishop of London, who died in 1609. They are usually styled Translators, and they appropriate the name in their fulsome Dedication, and it is so set forth on the title-page. In fact, they were Revisers of successive revisions, as they acknowledge in the noble Preface, which, unfortunately, is not given in recent issues, although of permanent bibliographical and theological value. The statement that it was appointed to be read in churches had not, so far as is known, the sanction of Parliament, of Convocation, or even of the Privy Council. The intrinsic excellence of the work, as a whole, perpetuating, as it does, the standard set up by Tyndale, won for it general acceptance; but the Genevan continued to be largely used for many years, and was not actually displaced until after the middle of the century. The whole subject is fully and carefully treated by Bishop Westcott and Dr. John Eadie in their respective works on the English Bible. The Revised Version of the close of the nineteenth century, with all its excellence of scholarship in correct and uniform renderings, has not become popular; chiefly, because of use and wont, but, partly, on account of its numerous and trivial changes, of the sacrifice of majestic rhythm, and of its departure from the earlier canons of translation.

Shortly before the dissolution of the Long Parliament an order was passed, in April, 1653, for a Bill to be brought in for a new translation. Three years after-

wards, the scheme was revived in the Grand Committee for Religion, and certain learned divines were named to submit a project. Bulstrode Whitelocke, in whose charge the matter was placed, says in his 'Memorials,' that frequent meetings were held in his house, "with the most learned men in the Oriental tongues," who agreed that the existing translation was "the best of any in the world," but that it contained some mistakes; probably in the ecclesiastical rendering of certain words. Nothing came of the suggestion, after the return of Charles II. His grandfather is not entitled to any credit in connection with the work. All that he did was to issue the Commission, and, in a spirit of vicarious generosity, to order the prelates to bestow livings in their gift upon such of the translators as needed to be recompensed. The entire expense, amounting to three thousand five hundred pounds, was borne by Robert Barker, the printer; who paid each of the Translators thirty shillings weekly during the progress of the work. For his outlay and risk he received a patent of monopoly, as his father had done from Queen Elizabeth; and it remained in the Barker family, with occasional assignments, for one hundred and thirty years. This exclusiveness continued within living memory; and it was a punishable offence to infringe the rights of the patentees. Some editions are known to bibliographers by peculiar or grotesque names; as the Breeches Bible, the Bug, the Devil's, the Treacle, the Vinegar, or the Wicked Bible; because of odd translations; or of errors in printing and punctuation; or of unauthorized changes.

The character and aims of the Later Puritans differed materially from the sartorial and spectacular disputes that marked the first half of Elizabeth's reign. The criticisms and censures of the forty-third Chapter still apply, and may be read, with those given of the Presbyterians in the fifty-sixth, in connection with the general view now to be presented. In some respects, the opinions of the Puritans had widened; but were yet partial and local. They literally believed that "the Earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof"; and desired that in it the spiritual realm might be set up, and the Divine law

obeyed. Intense Calvinists, they profoundly recognised individual duty before God. Scripture philosophy and the Mosaic code were applied, not always wisely, to the task of practical statesmanship. The morality of the Bible was their one standard; for the Court, for the camp, for the home, for business, and for pleasure. They rejected alike the comfortable philosophy of Mr. Worldly-Wiseman and the seductive blandishments of Vanity Fair. They were sometimes mistaken as to the means; and they thought the end to be nearer and easier of attainment than proved to be the case. Of their sincerity and earnestness there can be no doubt. It is not their fanaticism or their theology that makes them and the stern Covenanters of Scotland so heroic to modern eyes; but the fact that they earnestly sought after what they believed to be the truth, and accepted it; not thinking of what was practicable or expedient, nor cautiously counting majorities and minorities. Personal religious conviction was the fontal spring of their life. In their solemn belief, God, in very deed, dwelt with men upon earth. This world was regarded as the vestibule to another and a better. They strove to act as denizens who belonged to a heavenly country. Meanwhile, they looked and laboured for an ideal England, free from the frivolous revelries of Whitehall, and from the drunken riot of the village fair or ale-house. Sobriety, truth, honesty, decorum, and chastity were to prevail. The idle and the profligate were to be aroused to a nobler life. How if these lacked the fulcrum on which a moral lever could rest and work? Supposing that they made no response to the appeal, but resisted the impulse? Then, it was replied, the aid of the magistrate must be invoked.

Herein lay the danger. It has always been found impossible to raise people by compulsion above their own sense of right; or even above the average standard of the day. The attempt, however sincere, is resented. The Athenians wearied of the praises of Aristides; the Florentines turned upon Savonarola; the French upon St. Just; and the Romans on Rienzi. The Dutch beheaded Barneveldt, and imprisoned, tortured, and murdered the de Witts. It was so with the Puritans. The earnestness and moral elevation of the men rendered

them sometimes egotistical, visionary, unreasonable, and impractical. Without intending or perceiving it, they indulged in spiritual falsetto. Hating the common forms of vice—often revolting, and "of frightful mien"—they went to the opposite pole, and became intolerant of innocent pleasure and of lawful recreation. Life, to them, was profoundly serious; and even awful. They made no allowance for persons of inferior motives; of lower aims; and of less spiritual fervour. There were to be no more cakes and ale. Restraints, voluntarily assumed by themselves, were to be imposed on others. As they succeeded, by force of moral character, in acquiring political power, they found a strong incentive to employ it for the honest but mistaken purpose of coercing the world into decorous sobriety. They revived the rigidity of the Jewish Sabbath, as set forth in a treatise by Richard Bound, in 1595, and in a Parliamentary enactment of 1585 for the better and more reverent observance of the day; and they would have punished all who infringed it in the slightest degree. To their sense of duty it was strange that men should regard this as morose and gloomy fanaticism, or stigmatize their religion as cast-iron and complacent Pharisaism. When the incompetence, the ignorance, and the dubious character or the known profligacy of too many of the parochial clergy are considered, as revealed on unimpeachable testimony, it is not surprising that men of deep convictions and of true devoutness went to an extreme of rigidity. Richard Baxter (1615–1691), in his fascinating 'Life and Times,' narrates the low and degraded condition of the villages around his father's Shropshire home during the last ten years of this reign. The prayers were hurriedly mumbled by men who "taught school and tippled on the week-days," and got through the hasty mockery of a service in order that they might join, after the perfunctory performance, in dancing and jollity on the village green. It was a necessary and a noble thing for men to be found earnest enough and heroic enough to discharge any duty and to submit to any suffering on behalf of truth and righteousness; and who dared to resist earthly kings when these ruled in a manner that was treason to the King of kings.

Probably they did not understand or appreciate the liveliness and exuberance of a writer like Sir John Suckling (1608–1641); or of a clergyman like Robert Burton; who, however, was *sui generis*. Both in character and ability, he was far above the average cleric denounced by Baxter. He was born in 1576, and died in 1640; and was vicar of St. Thomas's, Oxford, for twenty-four years. Anthony Wood, in his 'Athenæ,' describes in terms of high appreciation his attainments and temper. His quaint, learned, crabbed 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' the result of multifarious reading and profound reflection, was first published in 1621. Six other editions were issued before 1660. Few books were more widely read; and it has extorted praise from the greatest writers, notwithstanding its rugged style and the pedantic accumulation of authorities and extracts. The only other work comparable to it in this respect is Warburton's 'Divine Legation.' Dr. Johnson eulogized it in the warmest terms; doubtless finding in it much that was congenial to his own temperament. It is no detraction from Milton's genius that he seems to have borrowed the themes for his 'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso' from a forgotten poem prefixed to the first edition of Burton. Sterne unblushingly plagiarized from him in 'Tristram Shandy'; and a host of interior writers have in a similar way appropriated Burton's learning, metaphors, and reflections. He styles his work, honestly enough, a Cento; but it is very ingenious. It treats of a variety of topics, that seem to be loosely connected with the general subject of the kinds, causes, symptoms, prognostics, and cures of melancholy; including many themes that a clergyman presumably would not touch; from the laws of beauty to demonology and witchcraft; from modes of diet to the causes of jealousy; from metaphysics to politics; from doctrines of religion to military discipline; from inland navigation to the morality of dancing-schools; from articles of dress to speculative astrology; from bodily humours to erotic discussions that rival Ovid's 'Art of Love.' There is, perhaps, in the wide domain of English literature, no other writer who has dealt so largely in apt and varied quotations; mainly drawn from classical sources. Though the work is heterogeneous and pedantic, rambling and

tiresome, it is relieved by many touches of humour and feeling, and displays a whimsical and grotesque genius.

That it was not appreciated by the Puritans is not surprising, when it is remembered that they were chiefly occupied in profound, wearisome and profitless theological and metaphysical discussions. Foreign scholars like Isaac Casaubon and Hugo Grotius, who visited England about this time, expressed disappointment at finding no taste for polite letters. The former, however, was delighted with the Bodleian Library, which he saw in 1613. In the previous year, the magnificent edition of Chrysostom, in the original Greek, was brought out, at a cost of eight thousand pounds, by Sir Henry Savile (1549–1622), Provost of Eton, and founder of the professorships that bear his name at Oxford. This was exceptional, as a contribution to scholarship; for Selden wrote that the Jesuits, the French lawyers, and the scholars of the Low Countries engrossed all learning; and the rest of the world made nothing but Homilies. One other conspicuous and honourable exception was "that great gulf of learning," Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Winchester from 1619 to 1626. He had previously filled the Sees of Chichester and of Ely; having declined two mitres from Elizabeth, because, as usual, the offers were coupled with the condition that part of the revenue should be alienated. He was the most eminent linguist of that time, and was said to be acquainted with fifteen languages. A High Churchman, and somewhat fond of an ornate ritual, he was also singularly pious, meek, and charitable. He was a saint whom an evil fate made a controversialist in spite of himself; and a courtier in times when courtiers were by no means saints. He maintained that the Divine Right of Episcopacy did not involve that there was no salvation without it, or that another Church could not stand. He never forced his preferences upon others. He was generally spoken of as an angel in the pulpit; and he was the most admired preacher in what may be regarded as the palmy days of English homiletical literature. He had a special faculty for composing prayers; and those of his still used at the consecration of churches are admirable of their kind; as are his devotional manuals, which have

appeared in many forms. His writings fill eight volumes in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology: his chief controversial work being a reply to Cardinal Bellarmine, and in defence of the rights of princes over ecclesiastical assemblies. If piety, learning, wisdom, ability, and high character determined the choice of a Primate, Andrews would have been preferred to Bancroft. To the same period belongs the 'Microcosmography' of John Earle, published in 1628; one of the best, as it was the most popular of the brief sketches of character and manners so abundant at that time, and which, with the addition of narrative matter, were transformed at the beginning of the eighteenth century into the little novels which the 'Spectator' has made famous. Earle went into exile with Charles II. after the Battle of Worcester; and became Bishop of that city, and then of Salisbury, after the Restoration; dying in 1665.

The steady, if silent growth of Puritanism appears in a Declaration issued in 1618 with reference to the notorious 'Book of Sports'; to use the popular but misleading title of a work said to have been drawn up by Thomas Morton, afterwards Bishop of Durham (1564–1659). A more strict observance of Sunday, not alone by ceasing to regard it as a festival and as a time for recreation, but in the then novel sense of abstaining from labour, was always one of the objects sought by the Reforming party. In not a few cases they had enforced it locally; to the great displeasure of their opponents. So far as it tended to secure periodical rest for the labouring classes, the Puritans are to be honoured. The King deemed their practice too rigid; and therefore announced it as his pleasure that people should be encouraged, although not compelled, after Divine service on Sunday, to indulge in dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, May-games, Whitsun-ales, Morris-dances, and Maypoles, "and other such harmless recreation"; except bear and bull-baiting, interludes, and bowls; the last being prohibited at all times "in the meaner sort of people," in conformity with the class legislation of the age. Popish recusants; such as did not attend the whole of the service prescribed by law; and those who did not adhere to their own churches, were expressly debarred even from such recreations as were

lawful. The latter clauses were aimed at the Puritans, who often went to church after the Liturgy was ended; or to distant churches, to hear favourite preachers. The main design of the Declaration was, under the pretence of making a Merry England, to divert it from political thought; a favourite method with crafty and unscrupulous politicians. The Declaration was ordered to be read from every pulpit. To the many thousands of Puritans, laymen as well as clerical, this seemed an outrage and an insult that must bring down the vengeance of Heaven. Archbishop Abbot (1562–1635) led the protest; and the design was allowed to drop. Though a strong upholder of the royal prerogative and of the ecclesiastical courts, he favoured and protected the Puritans. They were still more scandalized, fifteen years later, in the time of Charles the First, by Laud's revival of the order; which was then enforced with great severity, and contributed in no small measure to the downfall of the Church and the monarchy. In 1644, the Long Parliament directed all copies of the book to be called in and burned.

In the stern school of experience, and as the result of much injustice and suffering nobly borne, the Puritans of England afterwards attained to clearer vision concerning abstract truth and relative rights. They were not worse than their Continental brethren in Geneva and elsewhere, who were displaying towards those who differed from them, even in minor matters, the same intolerance under which they had smarted in the early struggles with Rome. At that very time, an angry disputation was waging in Holland between Calvinists and Arminians; and in Germany between Calvinists and Lutherans. The latter dispute led to the formation of the Catholic League for the extirpation of Protestants, and to the prolonged series of conflicts known as the Thirty Years' War in Bohemia, the Palatinates, Saxony, and Hungary; so vividly described by Schiller. It was ended only in 1648 by the Treaty of Westphalia; after great vicissitudes of fortune on both sides, enormous losses, and the death of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden in the Battle of Lützen, November 6, 1632. In the case of the dispute in Holland, its renowned historic precedents for religious toleration were for a time forgotten. The

Remonstrants, or Arminians, were assailed by the Gomarists, or Calvinists; and the crisis was reached at the Synod of Dort (November 13, 1618-May 9, 1619), to which King James sent five delegates. Dogmatic conclusions were pronounced on abstruse points of doctrine; couched, as is the wont of ecclesiastical polemics, in language more decisive and minatory than is to be found in the Bible. The Netherland Confession of Faith and the Heidelberg Catechism were declared infallible; and no change was to be allowed in either formulary. It is known as the Quinquarticular Controversy, from the five points insisted on by the Remonstrants, and was the old dispute between contending schools of theology; traceable through every age of the Church. The Arminians were silenced, insulted, imprisoned, and deprived of their offices and emoluments. Such as refused to pledge themselves not to preach, were banished. The venerable Barneveldt (1547-1619), Grand Pensionary of Holland, had striven during his administration to effect some kind of mutual forbearance and compromise between the contending factions. He was brought before a packed tribunal, on the instigation of the Stadtholder, Prince Maurice of Orange, whose autocratic designs he had frustrated; and was charged with treason against the Republic he had served so well and done so much to ennoble, and the political existence of which was largely due to him. To the disgrace of the dominant Calvinist faction, the scaffold terminated his long and illustrious life of nearly seventy-three years. The learned Grotius made his escape with difficulty, through the ingenuity and heroism of his wife, after an imprisonment of two years; and died in Sweden in 1645. Happily, the Dutch reverted in 1630 to their old spirit and habits of tolerance of opinion. Arminius (1560-1609) was much less Arminian than his followers; just as Calvinism is more pronounced than the great man from whom the name is derived.

Bancroft's notorious sermon at Paul's Cross, in 1589, asserting the Divine Right of Episcopacy, had marked him as a compliant instrument of high prelatical policy. In due time he became Bishop of London, and succeeded Whitgift in January, 1604, as Archbishop of Canterbury.

He was narrow, intolerant, rough, and vindictive; a strenuous upholder of the royal prerogative; and bent upon enlarging the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts and enforcing the Act of Uniformity. He helped to rivet the Stuart yoke on the public neck, and was a Primate exactly after the royal notions. One of his first acts was the preparation of a fresh code of Canons for the future government of the Church. Those of 1604, as arranged by him, are one hundred and forty-one in number. They relate, among other things, to the Royal Supremacy; to the alleged Apostolic nature of the Anglican Church; to the Order of Divine Service; to prelatical authority; to clerical subscription to the Articles; to the Sacraments and other ceremonies; to sacred buildings and furniture; and to the authority of Synods. The Canons were submitted to Convocation, and were approved by James; but never received legislative sanction; and therefore, on the dictum of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke (1690–1762), are not binding on the laity, except in so far as they are declaratory of the ancient Canon Law which was ratified by Parliament. Their spirit is as harsh and intolerant as the system which was superseded by the Reformed Church. They were used as the convenient handmaid of Stuart arbitrariness and misrule. By their means, and with the supple compliance of judges and the strained powers of the High Commission and Star Chamber Courts, the ruling clergy were able to work their will for a time upon the Puritans and Separatists; who were placed under a common ban, and threatened with excommunication. The day of vengeance, though deferred, burst forth in the next reign. Meanwhile, a futile revolt appeared in another direction. Unwise and unjust measures of repression towards the Catholics led some violent spirits among them to conclude that the shortest way to overthrow Protestantism in England would be to destroy all its leaders at one stroke. This was the origin of the Gunpowder Plot of November 5, 1605; designed to blow up the King and the Parliament by means of an accumulation of combustibles secreted in the cellars. The discovery of the scheme led to more stringent enactments. The memory of this mad plot, devised by a few

fanatics, long survived in England; though modern commemorations are beneath contempt. For purposes of State policy, and in order to arouse Protestant bigotry, the circumstances were invested with factitious importance; and a hare-brained, hopeless project was swollen into a gigantic conspiracy. A special commemorative Order of Service was added to the Book of Common Prayer, and continued until recently to disfigure it.

By the accession of James I. there was a union of the two Crowns of England and Scotland; but not of the two countries for legislative and administrative purposes. This was not effected for a century; until the reign of Anne. One insensate act was the attempt to impose Episcopacy upon Scotland. It had shaken off the Romish yoke, under the leadership of Knox; and the 'First Book of Discipline' had set up a system of Church government by Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies; which was finally established by the Scottish Parliament in 1592. That James was resentful of the domination of the Presbyterian clergy, whose lofty pretensions were as intolerable as those of any other order of priesthood, is manifest from his subsequent utterances and deeds. Instead of restraining them within safe limits, or depriving them of legislative and judicial authority, he set himself, as he had done repeatedly before leaving Scotland, to overthrow their system, and to establish in its room the Prelacy which the nation hated. A modified Episcopacy was attempted in 1600, by bribes and promises; aided by the immense powers of the High Commission Court. During his only visit to Scotland, in 1617, accompanied and instigated by Laud, James sought to introduce into the Scottish Kirk some of the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England. So determined was the resistance, and so threatening the attitude of the people, that, in spite of his own strong wishes and his annoyance at being rebuffed, he shrunk for a time from the advice of Laud to enforce the hated observances. A packed assembly was held at Perth in 1621, when orders were issued that the Sacrament should be received kneeling; that it might be administered privately, and also the ordinance of baptism; that children should be confirmed; and that certain

festivals were to be observed. Most of the Scottish people viewed such things with detestation and horror, as savouring of the Scarlet Woman. The feeling was strengthened by the rapacity of the Tulchan Bishops, as they were derisively termed; from the stuffed calf used at milking time to deceive the cow. Attempts to compel obedience only fanned the flame of opposition. Other matters demanded the attention of James; and his death followed within four years, on March 27, 1625; but the scheme of forcing Prelacy upon Scotland, renewed and persisted in by Charles I., largely contributed to the overthrow of the Stuarts.

CHAPTER XLIX.

PIONEERS OF LIBERTY.

A.D. 1603–1625.

The question around which the Stuart struggle first waged was whether the nation existed for the benefit of one man: in other words, whether the pretended Divine Right of Kingship was paramount over the rights of the people. Ecclesiastical freedom from Rome had been achieved by the long contest of the sixteenth century. As a logical sequence, the restoration of the old political freedom, possessed before the time of the Tudors, had to be wrung from an effete monarchical absolutism. It was not an insular movement, but was part of a mighty European conflict; like the Reformation itself. That was the religious form of the political outbreak. France, Spain, Germany, and the whole of Northern Europe were swept by two great opposing currents; one running towards the Future; the other vainly struggling back to the Past. In England, the Stuart contest was a challenge of the democratic spirit that had been slowly asserting itself for at least three generations. In its external and local form, it was a determined resistance to an obstinate attempt to rule without a Parliament, and to extend the royal preroga-

tive to its utmost limits; meaning thereby, the monarch's freedom to do exactly as he pleased. A personal despotism was designed to usurp the place of constitutional and representative government. James I. and Charles I. were so infatuated as to seek to restrict, still further than the Tudors had attempted, priceless liberties transmitted by the sufferings and the struggles of former generations of English freemen. Both of these monarchs hated legislative control and advice. Both persistently sought to carry on the administration in their own way; by their own instruments; and for their own purposes. They deliberately defied the nation; and they were worsted in the encounter. Parliament was not infallible; and it is unnecessary to vindicate all its words and acts. During the prolonged strife there were incidents and adjuncts, which have been unduly magnified by partisan writers, whose bigotry and passion have blinded them to the real issues of the controversy. James began it, by attempting to impose his inflated and preposterous notions of the royal prerogative. He kept up Purveyance, with its inherited abuses; he granted, for a consideration, patents for monopolies, after promising to abolish them; he extorted money by Forced Loans and Benevolences; issued Proclamations having the force of laws; and levied duties on Imports and Exports without the authority of Statutes. The marvel is that he should have met with such patience and forbearance. Not until the nation had been long and sorely tried was the limit of submission reached.

The first Parliament of the reign assembled March 10, 1604, and was prorogued on July 7. It again met on November 5, 1605, for two days only; and from the twenty-first of January to the twenty-seventh of May in the next year. There was another Session of a month in November, and two more brief meetings in 1607; but none from the fourth of July in that year until February 14, 1610, when the Houses sat till the twenty-third of July, and again from the sixteenth of October to the sixth of December. Then there was an interval of forty months. The Addled Parliament of 1614 was angrily dissolved without having passed a single measure; because the Commons insisted on the ancient right of

coupling Supply with the redress of Grievances. Seven years elapsed before another Legislature was convened, on January 30, 1621; which sat until the fourth of June. The next meeting was on the twentieth of November, for a month; but a further blank occurred until February, 1624; and once again during the last ten months of the reign. Of its entire length of twenty-two years, only one-tenth witnessed meetings of the great National Council; including Sundays and numerous brief adjournments. When it met, discussion was checked, and inquiry was stifled. The sole object was to extort supplies for a prodigal Executive, and for the insatiable greed of a host of Court harpies. The House of Commons was packed and bribed. Leading members were imprisoned for their freedom of speech; and their papers were seized and burned. The Clerk of the Crown was instructed to reject the returns of such as were obnoxious to the King and his ruling favourites; but the House, after an angry struggle, successfully resisted the attempt. It also maintained the right, often violated in this and in the next reign, as to the exemption of members from arrest for their conduct as representatives; the power to debate all questions in State and Church; the impeachment of Ministers of the Crown; and the regulation of the Customs' duties at the ports of entry. These yielded £284,000 in 1619; of which sum five thousand was derived from the tax of six and eightpence a pound on tobacco from Virginia; in addition to the general Poundage of five per cent. on the value of all Imports. This was the practical and profitable form of James's dislike of the narcotic plant, as verbally expressed in his 'Counterblaste against Tobacco.'

When hard pressed by financial difficulties, he conceded the points in dispute; only to break his pledged word as soon as possible. When dire exigences compelled recourse to another Parliament, there were debates, protests, and remonstrances; to which he listened in sullen silence or with angry denials; and which he flouted as soon as he dared. He sold titles, patents of monopolies, pensions, places, judgeships, and reversions to legal and other offices. Part of the proceeds had to be divided among favourites, courtiers, and officials,

whose salaries were often nominal, and always small, and frequently in arrear. Hence they diligently made hay while the sun shone. Under such disreputable circumstances, the line of honesty was variable and elastic. The right to persecute Popish recusants was also sold for large sums in certain counties. The origin of baronetcies is infamous. The new title was created by James, in May, 1611, for the ostensible object of planting Ulster with English and Scotch settlers. The actual purpose was to raise money. The titular honour was sold for one thousand and ninety-five pounds; being the charge for supporting thirty foot soldiers at eightpence a day for three years. All gradations of rank had their appraisement. The amounts are duly recorded in the books of the Exchequer. Prices varied with the royal needs, and with the number of applicants. Usually, a man could become a baron for ten thousand pounds; a viscount for fifteen; or an earl for twenty thousand. The Upper House swarmed with these mushroom peers. Only seven creations marked Elizabeth's long reign of forty-five years. Her successor created six times as many in half that period. Of the ninety lay members at the time of his death, nearly one-half had purchased their titles. This was the beginning of the degradation of the House of Lords, that culminated in the reign of George III. Men went with money in their hands to Buckingham, or whoever chanced to be the favourite of the day, or to the King himself; or they executed deeds covenanting for payment. Not a judicial or an executive act was performed without fees and presents. Enormous fines were arbitrarily levied in the Star Chamber for offences that were exaggerated, if not merely constructive or strained. Bacon's apophthegm was, doubtless, the result of his own observation at this time, if not, as some assert, of his own experience: "A king is a fountain of honour, which should not run with a waste-pipe, lest the courtiers sell the water." All this, however, was only an imitation of a bad practice which had long prevailed in France, and which continued to flourish there. So late as 1702, two hundred titles of nobility were granted for three thousand livres each; and double the price was exacted, four years later, for five hundred.

Many instances might be cited of the conflicts which James provoked with the Legislature by his attempts at absolutism. In his first Parliament, a grave question arose concerning the ancient privileges of the House of Commons. James sent a message, through the Speaker, that since they derived all matters of privilege from him, and by his grant, as the Lord's Anointed, he expected they should not be turned against him; and especially that the House should not meddle with the question of disputed elections! In reply, a statement was drawn up on the twentieth of June, 1604, reciting the fundamental privileges, rights, and liberties which the House had immemorially enjoyed; and claiming a continuance for themselves and their successors. The King had to concede the demand. He knew that his was a limited monarchy, and that the rights claimed were of ancient date and indefeasible title. His subsequent attempts at arbitrary rule, and, still more, those of his son, were parts of a deliberate scheme to subvert the Constitution. The resistance encountered was a strictly conservative and lawful one; designed to preserve ancient rights and franchises; as has been the case in unbroken continuity from Magna Charta down to modern Reform Bills. The Parliament that met November 20, 1621, is a notable instance of the constitutional battle then being waged. At the head of the patriot party was the illustrious jurist, Sir Edward Coke (1549–1634), author of the 'Reports' and of the 'Institutes,' who had hitherto held High Church principles, and had filled the offices of Attorney-General and Chief Justice. In the former capacity, he was the first who sat in Parliament; all his predecessors being deemed ineligible. His language and bearing at Ralegh's trial were offensive and blameworthy, but, happily for his own reputation, and for the imperilled liberties of his country, he saw reason to change his political course. As Hallam says, he "redeemed in an intrepid and patriotic old age the faults which we cannot avoid perceiving in his earlier life." He was an earnest advocate of what may be regarded as internal free trade principles a century before the birth of Adam Smith. He said, in the Parliament of 1621:—"Reasons of State are often used as a trick to put us out of the right way.

Freedom of trade is the life of trade"—a famous phrase that was constantly quoted and did good service in later days—"and all monopolies and restrictions do overthrow trade." He also spoke strongly against a Bill to prohibit the importation of corn, for the protection of tillage. His celebrated eulogy and vindication of the House of Commons will always be remembered to his renown:—"If you consider its antiquity, it is most ancient; if its dignity, it is most honourable; if its jurisdiction, it is most extensive." These qualities he did his utmost to perpetuate. In that crisis, he was one of a small but noble band who kept alive the sacred flame of liberty when it seemed in imminent danger of extinction.

The year before this Parliament met, James had issued a Proclamation on December 24, forbidding any to speak of State affairs; but, as Mr. S. R. Gardiner remarks,—"The invariable correlative of restraint upon speech is licentiousness of action." The Legislature could not be muzzled, though James and his son Charles did their best. As soon as the Commons met in November, 1621, the old grievances of restricted debate; of knowledge kept back respecting Continental diplomacy, especially the hated Spanish marriage contemplated for Prince Charles; and of undue Court interference with the business of the House, were immediately discussed. The King wrote to the Speaker, "Make known in our name unto the House, that none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with anything concerning our government, or deep matters of State. . . . You shall resolve them in our name that we think ourselves very free and able to punish any man's misbehaviour in Parliament, as well during the sitting as after; which we mean not to spare hereafter, upon any occasion of any man's insolent behaviour there that shall be ministered unto us." He added that if in a Petition then about to be submitted they touched on any of these forbidden topics, "except they reform it, he could not deign the hearing or the answering of it." He told them that as it was blasphemy to dispute what God may do, so it was sedition in subjects to dispute what a king might do in the height of his power. He therefore commanded them not to meddle with the main points of government

which would "lessen his craft, who had been thirty years at his trade in Scotland, and served an apprenticeship of seventeen years in England." This insolent message, suspected at the time to have been sent under the dictation of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, and now known to have been so inspired, was promptly resisted. Men who had risked the displeasure, and had successfully withstood the threats of Elizabeth, would not yield to the feeble assumptions of James. They scorned to submit to the simulacrum of debate without the reality; or to the implied threat that any member might be thrust into the Tower for any phrase which the Court chose to dislike or to condemn. Further correspondence passed with the King, who was at Newmarket. A deputation was sent there; and he called to his attendants,—"Bring stools for the ambassadors!" the origin of the popular tale about "Here be twal kings come to me." He returned a long, rambling, and evasive answer; but the Commons would not surrender their independence, and James would not yield his prerogative.

To vindicate their own action, and to guard against the creation of a precedent inimical to future liberties, they placed on record on their Journals, the following declaration, drafted by Coke, and adopted with unanimous acclamation; resisting all attempts at adjournment made by the courtiers:—"That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the King, State, and defence of the realm and of the Church of England, and the making and maintenance of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in Parliament. And that, in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the House hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same. . . . And that if any members be complained of, and questioned for any thing said or done in Parliament, the same is to be shown to the King, by the advice and assent of all the Commons

assembled in Parliament, before the King gives credence to any private information."

It is recorded as an unusual circumstance, that candles were brought in, so that this necessary Protest might be completed on the evening of December 18, 1621. Not one hour too soon was the patriotic work accomplished. It was felt that if these ancient and hard-won rights were not vindicated, all the liberties of the nation were at an end. The King foamed at the mouth with rage, and his speech was thicker than usual on his slobbering tongue. He sent for the Commons' Journal, and with his own hand tore out the Protest; idly declaring that it was invalid. Perhaps he hoped that no more would be heard of it, or that nothing more would result than when, in 1614, he superintended the burning of the written arguments on which the popular leaders in the Commons relied in resisting his claim to levy imposts without their consent. This done, a verbose and inflated Proclamation was issued with all the tinsel of heralds and the bray of their trumpets, dissolving Parliament; declaring the Protest to be "a usurpation which the majesty of a king can by no means endure"; but assuring the people of his gracious intention to hold another Parliament as soon as convenient—twenty-six months elapsed—and that he would govern as his predecessors had done.

Gondomar wrote to the Spanish Court, prematurely, as the event showed, that all risk of war was over, and that it was certain another Parliament would not be called as long as James lived: —"It is the best thing that has happened in the interests of Spain and of the Catholic religion since Luther began to preach heresy a hundred years ago." It was not then known, as the State Papers prove, that James had sold for the aid and patronage of England's ancient foe, not only the sacred cause of Protestantism in Germany, but the national independence of which his predecessor and her father had been the stout champions. He subjected himself to repeated humiliations and rebuffs in his attempts to contract his son Charles in marriage to the Infanta of Spain. When the proposals were finally rejected, in October, 1623, the delight of the English found expression in bonfires, lighted candles in the windows, and

bell-ringing; so intense was the hatred felt towards the proud and persecuting Don. Sagacious and patriotic men, like Sir Henry Savile (1549–1622), avowed their dislike and their fears. That eminent scholar and mathematician lay dying while this contest waged between the King and the Parliament. "I am ready to depart," he said; "the rather that, having lived in good times, I foresee worse."

Sir Edward Coke and two other members, Robert Phelips (Saltash), and William Mallory (Ripon), were imprisoned for seven months in the Tower, for their action in the Legislature of 1621. Four more were practically banished, by being sent to Ireland in the middle of Winter on forced and unpalatable duties, at their own expense. John Pym was confined to his town house for three months, and then ordered to remain at his country house in Somerset. The Nemesis arrived ere long. This is only one instance out of many that occurred during the twenty years' struggle of the Commons with the King, to maintain their rights as the guardians of public liberties. The illustrious and learned jurist, John Selden (1584–1654), who rendered signal service to the cause of freedom, was also imprisoned for advising Parliament to repudiate the doctrine that their privileges were originally royal grants; liable to be revoked. Born of poor parents, he was educated at Chichester Grammar School, whence he went to Oxford; receiving in both places the advantages then obtainable by the class of persons for whom such rich foundations were intended by the charitable donors, but who have long since been robbed of their birthright by the wealthy and the indolent. He wrote numerous tractates on legal and scholastic subjects; published his famous treatise on 'Titles of Honour' in 1614, and, four years later, his 'History of Tithes'; in which he maintained, to the anger and dismay of the clergy, the undoubted legal and historical truth, now accepted by the greatest jurists and statesmen, that the sole title to ecclesiastical property rests on the laws of the country; that tithe is of purely human authority; and that it is for the State to dispose of it as may be thought best for the good of the community. The book was prohibited; while replies to

it were encouraged. Selden was threatened with renewed imprisonment if he wrote a rejoinder. James was cunning enough to perceive that from an attack upon the Divine Right of tithes there was but a short step to assailing the Divine Right of kingship. As he needed the help of the clergy in maintaining the latter, he was willing to concede to them the former.

His treatment of his cousin, the Lady Arabella Stuart, merely for marrying against his will, revealed his mean and vindictive nature. By an illegal stretch of prerogative, she was imprisoned in the Tower for more than four years; and died there, September 27, 1615; guilty of no crime except the possession of a contingent reversion through birthright to the Crown, under the Act of Succession. Another victim, of a different order, was sacrificed to Spanish vengeance. There is a wealth of literature about Sir Walter Ralegh (1552–1618); but the most recent and the most valuable 'Life' is the one by Stebbing. After participating in and largely contributing to the renown of Elizabeth's reign, he became an object of suspicion and dislike to her degenerate successor. Ralegh was accused in 1603 of complicity in a plot against James; and though not a scintilla of what would be regarded as legal evidence was forthcoming on his trial for high treason, a verdict of guilty was secured, mainly through the efforts of Coke, then Attorney-General, and of obsequious and unscrupulous judges like Chief Justice Popham (1531–1607). Sentence of death was passed; but James did not venture to risk popular tumult by executing such a man. Ralegh was therefore confined in the Tower for nearly thirteen years. His property was confiscated for the benefit of Carr, the King's favourite minion; who afterwards fell into disgrace, and was lodged in Ralegh's old quarters. The tedious imprisonment of the latter was beguiled by literary and scientific pursuits. He was addicted to chemical experiments, and was renowned, among other things, for his medical knowledge. One product of the enforced seclusion was the famous fragment known as 'The History of the World.' It extends from the Creation to the close of the Second Macedonian War, and is remarkable for its wide range of information; for

its philosophical reflections and parallels; and for its quaint but stately style. He also wrote numerous political, moral, and metaphysical disquisitions. Some of his poetical pieces are still remembered for their elegance and grace. He may be grouped with Richard Hooker and Lord Bacon, as one of the three great prose writers who enriched the English language at that period. He contributed to a prison literature that embraces works by Roger Bacon, Fleta, Boëthius, George Buchanan, Thomas Lydiat, Cervantes, Hugo Grotius, Richard Lovelace, Sir William Davenant, John Selden, William Penn, John Bunyan, Daniel Defoe, Voltaire, Diderot, Mirabeau, William Cobbett, Thomas Cooper, James Montgomery, and Leigh Hunt.

Ralegh obtained his release from the Tower, March 19, 1616, by means of bribes from his devoted wife and from her family to the then ruling favourite, the Duke of Buckingham (1592–1628); who was to participate in the gains from another expedition to Guiana, of thirteen ships and a thousand men, which Ralegh planned, and for which his friends provided the funds. It was to be conducted, ostensibly, in search of a gold-mine; but really for such adventure and profit as might chance to accrue. It was no secret that this might include the capture of the Spanish treasure-fleet from Mexico. The King was to receive one-fifth of the proceeds, without incurring any risk; nor was his name to be mentioned in connection with the enterprise. It failed miserably, owing to Ralegh's illness; the death of his son and of his best officers; the treachery and desertion of others; the vile character of the sailors, whom he described as "a motley company of rascals"; repeated storms and wrecks; and the incompetence of those upon whom the conduct of affairs devolved while Ralegh lay prostrate with fever. The King is known to have secretly warned the Spaniards of the intended attack. He supplied Gondomar, the ambassador, with a copy of the chart of the proposed course, as marked by Ralegh; and with all the details of his scheme. These were sent to Madrid, and thence to the Spanish American governors, to forewarn them. He basely pandered to the Spaniards by sacrificing Ralegh, whom they hated as much as they

formerly hated Sir Francis Drake, and as they afterwards hated Admiral Blake.

Another motive operated. By the lamented death, in 1612, at the age of eighteen, of Henry, Prince of Wales, his younger brother, Charles, became heir-apparent. The character and attainments of the deceased Prince seem to have been magnified, as in the case of Edward VI. and of the Princess Charlotte, in the Elegies by George Chapman, George Wither, William Rowley, Drummond of Hawthornden, George Brown, and other poets. The great object of James was to effect for Charles a strong matrimonial connection. It was vainly hoped that the project of the Spanish marriage for Prince Charles, which the country loathed and hated, might be hastened by the execution of Ralegh. His share in the defeat of the Armada, and in the long series of disasters and humiliations in the preceding reign, had never been forgiven or forgotten by the proud Dons. This last attack upon their distant preserves, magnified by rumour and malice, was an aggravation of his old offences. When he returned, on June 21, 1618, after a year's absence, with his shattered vessels, and broken in health, though proud as ever in spirit, he was again incarcerated in the Tower, mainly at the instigation of Gondomar. James was guilty of the infamy of offering to surrender Ralegh to Spain, to be hanged as a pirate; but Philip III. knowing that his prey was at length secured, would not incur the odium of Europe by murdering such a redoubtable foe. Ralegh had never been relieved from the old sentence, passed fifteen years before; so that he went forth from the Tower on his last and fatal expedition as with a chain around his ankle. Technically, therefore, and according to legal pedants, he was still under sentence of death. This was actually carried out, by what must be regarded as a judicial murder; but only after strict legal formalities had been observed, according to the most rigid pattern. In settling this procedure, Bacon took an unworthy and a dishonourable part; as he had done, fifteen years before, in the case of his benefactor, Essex. After the farce of an inquiry and of laboured arguments why the recorded sentence should not be carried out, the monstrous

decision was given that the former conviction held good; though notoriously obtained by fraud and perjury.

Under these infamous circumstances, Ralegh was beheaded in Palace Yard, Westminster, October 29, 1618, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. Having been condemned in 1603 on the pretence of being a friend of Spain, he was now executed for being its enemy. He comported himself on the scaffold, like Sir Thomas More, with his old vivacity, in spite of bodily infirmity from long illness. His confident appeal to posterity, and the recollection of his brilliant and adventurous career, have thrown a halo around his memory, and have caused his weaknesses and mistakes, his failings and vices to be forgotten. He had fattened on forfeitures and monopolies, and his unveracity and scepticism were notorious; but a revulsion was caused by his prolonged imprisonment and by his judicial murder, and he became the popular idol because, in his boldest and least scrupulous raids, he always sought the greatness and the glory of England against the jealousy, the fanaticism, and the intolerance of Spain. He was a remarkable man, dazzling and enigmatical, in a remarkable age. His versatility as author, statesman, soldier, courtier, discoverer, colonist, freebooter, patriot, philosopher, and visionary will always render him an object of wonder and of admiration. A memorial brass in St. Margaret's, Westminster, placed there in 1845, and a painted window with lines by James Russell Lowell, are modern testimonies from England and from Virginia. His name is perpetuated in the capital of North Carolina. His base sacrifice by James did not placate Spain. The marriage scheme failed, and the royal exigencies had to be supplied with Henrietta Maria of France; who became Charles's evil adviser and one cause of his ruin.

The condition of things described in this Chapter and in the one preceding was rendered possible because the administration of law was debased and corrupted. Judges were treated as Court tools. Any lack of compliance was punished by removal from the Bench. The usage was for the office to be held during the royal pleasure. One of the grossest instances occurred in 1616, when Sir Edward Coke was deprived of the Chief Justiceship

of the King's Bench. He had offended by protesting against the illegal action of the High Commission Court, and by maintaining that the monarch had no power to stay legal proceedings, or to impose penalties by Proclamation. Coke's craven-spirited colleagues fell on their knees and begged pardon of the royal pedant for ever having entertained such an opinion. In one of the alliterative puns of that day it was said that "four P's had been the ruin of Coke; viz., Pride, Prohibitions, Præmunire, and Prerogative." He has been accused of a design unduly to exalt the juri-diction of the judges; but he seems only to have asserted their constitutional right to administer the law, and to pronounce between the Crown and the nation. The personal conflicts of the two great rivals, Coke and Bacon, need not be revived. It was not merely a matter of professional or political jealousy. Both were suitors for the hand of that titled and wealthy virago, Lady Hatton; and, in the end, Bacon had cause to congratulate himself on having been rejected by the widow; whom his successful rival found as arbitrary, capricious, and exacting as the Dowager Countess of Warwick is said to have been with her second husband, Joseph Addison.

Lord Bacon's literary and philosophical career has been noticed in the forty-sixth Chapter. Around his personal history and his political and judicial course a keen controversy has always waged. His conduct towards the Earl of Essex, to whom he owed so much; his treatment of Ralegh; and his compliance with the degradation of the judicial bench at the behests of a monarch like James and of a minion like Buckingham, are indelible blots upon his memory. The regret expressed by Erasmus, when Sir Thomas More abandoned his scholarly pursuits for the stormy sea of politics, applies to Bacon. Pope's stinging antithetical phrase, in the 'Essay on Man,'—"The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind," expresses the general verdict; and is, in substance, endorsed by Macaulay. Able apologists have not been lacking, like Basil Montagu, Dr. E. A. Abbott, W. Hepworth Dixon, Dean Church, and, most of all, James Spedding, who devoted forty years to the 'Life' of Bacon and to editing his works. They have tried to

soften down or to explain away the charges of bribery and corruption in his office of Lord Chancellor. It is certain that the years in which he filled high posts were among the most disgraceful of a disgraceful reign; including the war in Bohemia; the domination of the House of Austria; the abandonment of the Palatinate; insults by Spain; the execution of Ralegh; repeated instances of illegal taxation; the open traffic of offices and honours; the multiplication of patents of monopoly; and the infamous dictatorship of Buckingham. He is said, but is not proved, to have sacrificed Bacon to screen himself from an impending storm in Parliament, when that body met after the lapse of six years. Bacon was tried in 1621 by his peers, on charges of corruption; and a fine of forty thousand pounds was imposed; with imprisonment during the royal pleasure. The sentence was nominally severe, because it was known that it would be remitted. His actual incarceration lasted only for a few hours, but he was declared incapable of filling any office, and was forbidden to come within twelve miles of the Court. The blow was sudden and fatal. It fell at the time that Ben Jonson sung of him as one "whose even thread the Fates spin round and full, out of their choicest and their whitest wool."

The infamy of hatching the alleged plot in the interests of Buckingham is imputed to that Court parasite, John Williams (1582–1650), Dean of Westminster, who retained the post, with other sinecures, when he was immediately rewarded for his scheming with the Lord Keepership and the rich See of Lincoln. He contrived to hold so many preferments that Peter Heylin said he was a perfect diocese within himself; being bishop, dean, prebend, residentiary, and parson, all at once. The plot-theory, however, is not conclusively established; nor is it a sufficient explanation of the charges alleged against Bacon that the custom of judges receiving large gifts from suitors and from the occupants of patent offices was almost universal, and had prevailed from a remote period. Probably there will always be diversity of opinion over the much-debated question as to the culpability of this distinguished man; "majestic, though in ruin." He possessed a giant intellect, with the soul

of a mere politician. It is manifest, from numerous passages in his works, that he maintained the preposterous and dangerous theory of the judges holding office merely at the pleasure of the Crown, and that the defence of its prerogatives was especially committed to them. That theory has long since been abandoned. Judges are appointed virtually for life; if, as is too often the case, for political services; and are removable only on a joint address of both Houses of Parliament. There had been no instance of impeachment between 1420 and 1621; which is to be accounted for by the increasing regal power under the Tudors; by the substitution of Bills of Attainder; and by the growing jurisdiction of the Privy Council and the Star Chamber. Since Bacon's time there have been fifty-four cases, including administrative as well as judicial; the last being that of Lord Melville, in 1805, for gross malversation and breach of duty as Treasurer of the Navy.

CHAPTER L.

PLANTING OF NEW ENGLAND.

A.D. 1605–1629.

English attempts at colonization in America were due in the first instance, as has been pointed out, to the spirit evoked by the Reformation, and to a resolve to secure "a lot or portion in the New World," regardless of the exclusive claims of Spain, as based on the Papal Bulls. The fortunes of the few settlers were, on the whole, poor and discouraging. Ralegh and the original patentees of Virginia had almost ceased to look for prosperity. The founding of Colonies in America at the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries was no holiday pastime. It was a long course of drudgery, starvation, conflict, and peril. The rigour of the climate involved a ceaseless struggle with Nature in her sternest moods; and there was incessant warfare with the natives. The failures greatly outnumbered the successes. The

long and narrow strip of country between the Atlantic coast and the Alleghany mountains was for the most part an unbroken forest, that involved laborious clearing. Hard toil, severe discipline, and patient endurance served to develop lofty courage and true heroism. If the sagacious, just, and practical rules laid down by Bacon in his famous 'Essay on Plantations'—the word then being used to denote the settlement of men abroad—had been observed in the initial enterprise under Ralegh, and in all the Colonies since founded by England, it would have been far better for the mother-country and for the race. Two centuries after he wrote, England failed to adopt his sagacious advice in the settlement of Australia; and she has had to reap the inevitable results of the mistake.

With the opening years of the seventeenth century, the subject of emigration to America was revived. The desire to singe the King of Spain's beard, as expressed by Drake and his associates, was as strong in the adventurers who followed them. They held that the establishment of English Colonies across the Atlantic would "put a byt into their ainchent enymys' mouthes," and would promote the commerce of England. In the 'Genesis of the United States,' Alexander Brown, of Virginia, has compiled with much care and labour a narrative of the new movement, from State documents in the archives of England, Spain, and the Netherlands; from frequent records in the great City Companies; and from printed voyages, pamphlets, tracts, broadsheets, and sermons of the time. The widespread interest appears in such popular works as the comedy of 'Eastward Hoe,' the joint production of George Chapman, Ben Jonson, and John Marston; and in the spirited 'Ode to the Virginian Voyage,' written shortly afterwards by Michael Drayton. The play describes a number of civic personages and their roystering pleasures. Incidentally, it shows the prevalent opinion as to the wealth of Virginia:—"Gold is more plentiful there than copper is with us. All their dripping-pans and pots are pure gold . . . and for rubies and diamonds, they go forth on holidays, and gather them by the sea-shore." The covetous hunger after wealth, aroused by such rumours, is also shown in Ben Jonson's 'Alchemist' (Act ii., scene 1).

London was the chief base of operations; though the maritime and commercial wealth of Bristol—then the second port of the kingdom—generously contributed. The principal nobles; many members of the House of Commons; leading merchants; and high officials in Church and State, banded themselves together to obtain Royal Charters and Letters-Patent for purposes of settlement and trade, in regions extending from the thirty-fifth to the forty-fourth degrees of North Latitude, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Two such Charters were granted in 1606; the vast and vague territory being divided between two companies in London and in Plymouth, with powers of local self-government that could only have been given in ignorance of the circumstances, and from inability to perceive whereunto the thing would grow. By the year 1616, Virginia, chiefly along the James River—so named after the King—was regarded as a settled Plantation; and the destinies of North America were in English hands. The founders were, unconsciously, the architects of their country's greatness. The name of New England was first given by the garrulous and romancing explorer, Captain John Smith (1579–1631).

At this juncture, an added impulse and a new direction were given to the movement. The rise of the Independents was traced in the forty-fourth Chapter. After the severe treatment of all Separatists under Elizabeth, many went to Holland, and formed themselves into congregations under recognised pastors and teachers, such as Francis Johnson, the friend and successor of Barrowe and Greenwood; Henry Ainsworth, the greatest Hebrew scholar of his day, author of 'Annotations' on the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and Solomon's Song; John Smyth; Henry Jacob; Richard Clifton; and John Robinson. Most of them were University scholars; chiefly of Cambridge; and several had held fellowships and livings. Unfortunately, questions that rent asunder the Apostolic Church, with acrimonious disputes about attire, modes of worship, and minor matters, soon arose, and divided the exiles; showing that no system is better than the men who administer it, and that the weak side of human nature will assert itself under conditions thought to be

ideally perfect. Immediately on the accession of James, the Separatists, like the Puritans, approached him with petitions for tolerance. Yet so little did they understand the vital question at issue, and so unprepared were they to concede to others the liberty claimed for themselves, that in the tract attributed to Henry Jacob, 'An Humble Supplication for Toleration,' all sympathy with Papists is denied, with their right to be tolerated; and the royal authority is distinctly recognised "for the overseeing, ruling, and censuring of particular churches." A kind of external supervision is also affirmed in the published 'Confession' put forth by the religious community over which he presided.

Jacob returned to London in 1616, not without great risk, from his exile in Middleburg, and gathered a small congregation in Southwark; usually regarded as the first Independent Church, though there had been fugitive assemblies of the kind for fifty or sixty years. Thomas Helwys, one of the ministers of a Baptist congregation in Holland, also returned to London in 1611 with a party of adherents. It is not known where they met, or whether they had for a year or two a regular place of assembly; but they may be regarded as the origin of the body known at a later period as General Baptists. The phrase referred to their belief in general or universal redemption, as opposed to the particular redemption of an elect few; as held by certain Calvinists. By 1623, they had several congregations in London, Lincoln, Coventry, Salisbury, and other towns. Crosby's 'History of the Baptists,' with Ivimey's, and the valuable publications of the Hanserd Knollys Society, cast much light upon this obscure period. Jacob emigrated to America in 1624, and is supposed to have died there, two years later. As ecclesiastical troubles increased in England, persecuted Separatists, chiefly in the Eastern Counties, thought of seeking an asylum beyond the Atlantic, and of founding there a home, with the freedom to worship God that was denied to them here. It seemed to be an impulse amounting to an inspiration to go forth and establish a home in the Transatlantic Continent, and to plant a church in the wilderness; though it was a wrench to their feelings to abandon for ever the land

they loved, the homes of their childhood, and the graves of their fathers, in order to embark upon an uncertain and hazardous enterprise in a distant country, among savage tribes, and with the memory of past failures in Virginia.

So early as 1597, Francis Johnson, with his brother and two friends, released from four years' imprisonment for the purpose, had gone to Cape Breton with a fishing expedition organized by friendly English merchants, to examine and report as to the possibility of a settlement; but, being wrecked, they had to return, at the risk of their lives, to England, where they were secreted until they could escape to Holland. The project, though deferred, was not abandoned. Twenty-three years later, after much conference, many fruitless negotiations, and hopes raised only to be disappointed, arrangements were effected with the patentees of Virginia, and with seventy London merchants who advanced a hundred pounds each for the expenses of the voyage and outfit, on a mortgage of future trade and labour. Their grant proved valueless, because they settled beyond the bounds; so a new one was obtained, with some trouble, in 1621, from the Council for New England; a body formed in the previous November under a Charter to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and thirty-nine other adventurers. The territory assigned was between the fortieth and the forty-eighth degrees of North Latitude; which overlapped the district given in 1606 to one of the Virginia Companies, and led to disputes, and to the surrender of the Charter in 1635. Five years before that time, the Plymouth Colony secured a confirmation and an extension of the original grant.

Prominently identified with the migration is the name of John Robinson. He was born in 1576, probably in Lincolnshire, resigned in 1604 his fellowship in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and cast in his lot with the Independent Church that met, not without peril, in the Manor House, Scrooby, Notts; a mile and a half South of Bawtry, and the residence of William Brewster, master of post-horses for that district. The little religious community was a branch of the one formed in Gainsborough by John Smyth, in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign.

Owing to fierce persecution in 1608, Robinson accompanied about one hundred of his flock to Amsterdam, and thence to Leyden; one of the great Continental seats of the woollen manufacture; a city then having one hundred thousand inhabitants, with a famous University and a heroic Past. After a time, the English exiles, mostly agriculturists, handicraftsmen, and mechanics, participated in the longing desire to cross the ocean in search of a peaceful resting-place. They wished to maintain their nationality, their language, their self-government, and, above all, their religion. So they migrated as the Phocians did from Ionia to Massilia to escape from Cyrus, and as the Tyrians founded Carthage and other great settlements. They anticipated, in a nobler sense, Canning's famous phrase about calling a New World into being to redress the balance of the Old World. A pathetic parting took place with those unable to go. William Bradford describes the scene, as an eyewitness, in a classical passage of his 'History of Plymouth Plantation.' No man whose heart is not of stone can peruse without emotion his simple record, or that of Edward Winslow, of trials and sufferings endured with a patience truly heroic. The fresco in the House of Lords, apart from its incorrect title, is an imaginary and unworthy idealization of an event fraught with immortal consequences.

On the twenty-second of July, 1620, a little vessel of sixty tons, named, inappropriately, the "Speedwell," which had been bought and fitted out in Holland by the Separatist exiles there, sailed from Delft Haven for Southampton, after a day of solemn humiliation, when Robinson preached a historic sermon, containing the oft-quoted passage about further truth and light to break forth from God's Word. This circumstance is not recorded by Bradford. It was first mentioned by Edward Winslow, twenty-five years later. Judged by Robinson's known opinions and writings, it scarcely bears the interpretation usually put upon it. Read with the context, it probably refers, not so much to doctrine, as to church order. His published writings are far from presenting that breadth and vagueness of doctrinal belief which is sometimes attributed to him. He was in full

agreement with the Reformed Churches of France, Holland, Geneva, and Scotland; and with those who favoured their views in the Church of England. A pronounced Calvinist, and agreeing with the utterances of the recent Synod of Dort, there was no uncertainty about his theological attitude; yet his sympathies were wider than his creed, as is often the case with good men, and he longed for some ecclesiastical *modus vivendi* among Christians. He was a man of profound learning and much wisdom; an accomplished writer; and of rare sweetness of temper. No name in the annals of Independency shines with brighter lustre. While holding firmly to his own convictions, he possessed a Christian charity seldom found at any time; and for which the early Separatists were less distinguished than for courage, self-assertion, and positiveness. He stands almost alone among the Nonconformist writers of his day for dignified sobriety of language, entire freedom from malice or self-righteousness, and indifference to mere controversial victory. If he forgot himself when arguing with the Baptists, whom he denounced as "vile heretics and schismatics," with other vituperative epithets, natural to the speech of the time, their fierce attacks upon all who differed from their particular ritual were enough to try tempers of angelic mould. His generous spirit was partly inherent, but was due in a measure to the example of the toleration of all creeds which had been witnessed until recently in Holland.

Robinson wished and intended to join his friends across the Atlantic, later on; but this was not to be. He died, March 1, 1625, in his fiftieth year, and was buried with his wife and two of their children in the land of his exile. On the outer wall of the Church of St. Peter, at Leyden, where his remains repose, is a large bronze commemorative tablet, placed there in 1802 by American admirers, and as a token of ecclesiastical lineage. A stone built into an adjacent house bears the inscription,—"On this spot, lived, taught, and died, John Robinson, 1611–1625." He must not, however, be credited with opinions and aims which he would have been one of the first to repudiate. On the general question of toleration, and on that of an admitted right of the government to intervene in

ecclesiastical affairs, he held views similar to those of Henry Jacob and of the early Independents; as is manifest from his published writings, and from an extraordinary 'Declaration' signed by him and by Elder William Brewster, now in the State Paper Office ('Colonial,' A.D. 1617, i. 43); prepared for the information of James I. and the Privy Council, during the negotiations with the Virginia Company. A keen controversy has waged between Independent and Baptist writers as to which body is entitled to the credit of having first asserted the principle of toleration. The truth is that no one then understood the word in its modern signification of full liberty; still less of absolute equality. The poor and despised Baptist exiles in Amsterdam—one of the most celebrated being John Canne, author of the marginal references to the Bible—put forth at the time of their departure for England, in 1611, a Declaration of Faith, in which the following sentence occurs:—"The magistrate is not to meddle with religion or matters of conscience; nor compel men to this or that form of religion; because Christ is the King and Lawgiver of the Church and conscience." Three years later, in 1614, one Leonard Busher, a London citizen, a member of this community, is said to have issued a small tractate, in the form of an address, to the King, entitled, 'Religion's Peace; or a Plea for Liberty of Conscience'; affirming that the country would be distracted with oppression and persecution until such liberty was allowed; and asking, as Jews, Christians, and monks were tolerated in Constantinople, how much more ought Christians to tolerate one another? Further, he demanded "that it be lawful for every person, yea, Jews and Papists, to write, dispute, confer, and reason, print and publish, any matter touching religion, either for or against whomsoever." These are probably the first definite assertions in English of a principle that had been transmitted from the early Anabaptists or Mennonites of the Netherlands; unless some of Robert Browne's utterances can be so interpreted. In its broadest aspect, and apart from accidents of ritual, Anabaptism was a revolt of the conscience against a titular Christendom that was not Christian, and against

a partial Reformation that substituted one ecclesiastical tyranny for another. No words of praise are too strong in recognition of the services which Baptists have rendered to civil and religious freedom, and to the cause of education and humanity; whatever may be thought of their strenuous adherence to their ritual, and of the narrowness which they sometimes displayed. At a later day, they were among the first of Protestant communities to send missionaries to heathen lands.

The other emigrants from the Eastern Counties were waiting at Southampton; whence the "Speedwell" sailed on August the fifth, 1620, in company with the "Mayflower"; a vessel of one hundred and eighty tons—smaller than a modern pleasure yacht—that had been hired for the voyage. The former, it was said, proved leaky and unseaworthy; but it transpired that the master and crew wished to evade their bargain to remain for a year in the new colony. Twice the little expedition had to put back; and, on the second occasion, at Plymouth, the passengers and stores were transferred to the "Mayflower," which sailed on the sixth of September, with one hundred and two souls. The captain pursued a course too Northerly; so that instead of arriving on the expected part of the coast of what is now the State of Delaware, or that of New Jersey, and as near as might be to the Dutch and Walloon settlements on the Hudson River, the ship, after an anxious and perilous voyage of seventy-six days, anchored on the eleventh of November, amidst snow and ice, in Cape Cod Harbour; so named by early mariners because of the abundance of that fish. It was a fortunate miscalculation for the Pilgrim Fathers; as the affectionate reverence of later times has styled these pioneers of liberty. If their original destination had been reached, they would have come into collision with tribes of ferocious Indians, and would soon have been embroiled in disputes with the Dutch settlers. In 1609, Henry Hudson, an English mariner, offered his services to the Dutch to search for a passage to India by the North. He failed; but discovered what is now known as the Hudson River, up which he sailed one hundred and fifty miles in his vessel of eighty tons; not

dreaming that, at the very time, the French explorer Samuel de Champlain was within a day or two of him, on the shores of the lake that bears his name; and on the spot where, a century and a half later, the great battle for supremacy on the American Continent was to be fought between England and France. A second attempt by Hudson, in 1610–1611, to find a North-West route ended in his being cast adrift by mutinous sailors on the broad surface of the Bay that is named after him, and in which he found a grave and a monument. Meanwhile, various private undertakings had been arranged for purposes of trade between Holland and the region that soon came to be known as New Netherlands; acquired by purchase from the Indians, but held under protest and opposition from the English patentees of Virginia, and leading to incessant disputes. Peter Stuyvesant's administration of seventeen years, from 1647, is narrated, somewhat whimsically, by Washington Irving, in his 'History of New York by Diedrich Knickerbocker.' The place, then called New Amsterdam, with the adjacent territory now known as New Jersey, remained a Dutch colony until 1664, when they were taken by the English; together with Delaware, which had been settled by the Swedes in the time of Gustavus Adolphus, and afterwards acquired by the Dutch.

Considerably to the North were the French settlements, or, rather, the pitched camps, along the St. Lawrence, founded by Champlain in 1608; seventy-four years after Jacques Cartier's explorations in that region. The French hunters and trappers, accompanied by Jesuit missionaries, gradually penetrated beyond the great lakes and descended the Mississippi valley. Long before this time, in 1562, the persecuted Huguenots of France had made an ineffectual attempt to establish themselves on the confines of what is now known as South Carolina. Three years later, a similar attempt to form a colony of these refugees on the River St. John, in Florida, was frustrated by the Spaniards; who, as was their custom with Protestants, put the Huguenots to death by cruel tortures. In the bleak spot to which the Pilgrim Fathers drifted, the Indians had been reduced by one-half by a recent pestilence; or the little band of white men would

have been exterminated. The last thing done before landing was to subscribe a Declaration, or Instrument of Government, "to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices from time to time as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promised all due submission and obedience." This is the earliest written Constitution on American soil; and the first, anywhere, that based civil government primarily on the consent of the governed. Justly does Bancroft, the American historian, call it "the birth-hour of popular constitutional liberty."

John Carver was chosen the first Governor; but he died in the following April, and was succeeded by William Bradford. Among the other makers of history and founders of a nation were William Brewster, Ruling Elder of the Church, John Alden, Robert Cushman, Edward Winslow, Stephen Hopkins, George Morton, and that renowned warrior, of short stature but of stout heart and doughty arm, Captain Miles Standish. Five weeks were occupied in exploring the coast, and in short excursions inland, to discover a suitable spot for a settlement; which was at length fixed upon, and named New Plymouth, after the port from which they last sailed. On the twentieth of December, 1620, ever since commemorated as Forefathers' Day, the famous landing took place. The natural features of the country and the configuration of the Bay remain unchanged after the lapse of nearly three centuries. On those hills, and on this coast, then clothed with dense woods, the eyes of the Pilgrims rested after their protracted quest. Half their number were committed to the grave within six months of their arrival; so severe was the Winter; so unprepared were they to encounter it; and so reduced was their strength by the sufferings of the prolonged voyage in a crowded little vessel. The living were scarcely able to bury the dead. The precise spot where these were interred is unknown; save that it was on the hill immediately above the memorable granite boulder, called Plymouth Rock, on which these Argonauts first set their weary feet. The historic landing-place has ever since been a Mecca to thousands of devout and patriotic

pilgrims. Fragments of the rock are treasured in many a New England home, with a reverence equal to that felt for saintly relics in former times. A heroic monument has been recently built to dominate the spot from the adjacent hill; but the simple and touching record of struggles and sufferings is the worthiest commemoration. Only about twenty full-grown men were able in the Spring of 1621 to perform the work needful for the protection and sustenance of a handful of true-hearted women and their little ones. Often "they knew not at night where to have a bit in the morning." Yet they were hopeful and courageous. Not one went back in the "Mayflower" when she sailed for England on the fifth of April.

Others from the old country joined them in the following November, and yet more in July, 1623; but the first decade showed only three hundred members of the nascent colony, and in 1643 it numbered three thousand; pioneers of that emigration for conscience' sake which has left its distinctive and abiding impress on the Great Republic of the West. "Let it not be grievous to you," wrote their friends in England, "that you have been instruments to break the ice for others. The honour shall be your's to the world's end." They replied,—"It is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves home again. All great and honourable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both undertaken and confirmed with answerable courages." At the time that these brave words were written, much suffering and anxiety had to be endured. The salt beef and pork brought from England became tainted; the butter and cheese corrupted. For three years great scarcity prevailed, and there was little variety of fare. Brewster, when the ration of Indian corn supplied to each person was only five kernels a day, and when his chief food was clams, which were plentiful on the shore, records his thanks that he was "permitted to suck of the abundance of the seas and the treasures hid in the sands." The enterprise is momentous, not so much for what was immediately achieved, as for the magnificent possibilities which it opened up, and as inaugu-

rating a new era. It marks the transference to an almost illimitable Continent of all that was best, not only in the ideas and institutions of England, with her sacred traditions of liberty, but those of Northern Europe, and especially of Holland; the products of a matured civilization and of a heroic struggle for freedom. The discoverer, the soldier, the gold-seeker, and the merchant had attempted for nearly forty years the task of colonization in the New World; with results that verged upon absolute failure. Now, for the first time, the religious enthusiast, strong in the belief of a Divine mission and a heavenly brotherhood, sailed forth on that sea, thickly strewn with the wrecks of so many heroic ventures and goodly hopes, and, in the search for spiritual freedom, found also civil liberty, and, ultimately, commercial prosperity. It needed a motive far higher than mere gain to achieve such a victory; and Carlyle worthily commemorates it in his 'Lectures on Heroes.'

The settlers of New England carried out the common-school system; the written ballot for voting; the method of recording deeds and mortgages; just and humane prison treatment; and schemes of local self-government adapted to the special circumstances, and tending to political and civic freedom; all of which they had learned from the ancient administrative functions of boroughs and trade-guilds in England and from municipal institutions familiar to many of them in Holland. Both countries share the glory of having planted the first colonies of America, and of having laid there the foundations of public freedom; but the principle of a Federal Union was derived from Holland. The Old Colony, as it came to be termed, just as Virginia is known as the Old Dominion, more than atoned for its numerical weakness by the moral influences which flowed from its example of courage and endurance, and through its beautiful charity in respect of religious divergence on the part of others. It had its sources in the same spirit that animated the preaching of Latimer; the political measures of Hampden, Pym, and Cromwell; the sublime song of Milton; the glowing imagery of Bunyan; the liberal treatises of John Locke and Algernon Sidney, and the constitutional settlement of

the Glorious Revolution. American patriotism has accomplished much in its researches into the early history of New England; including such works as J. G. Palfrey's 'History'; the one by Bancroft; John Fiske's 'Beginnings of New England,' with its valuable bibliographical notes; Judge Davis's edition of 'Morton's Memorials'; Dr. Alexander Young's 'Chronicles of Plymouth'; the valuable publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Alexander Brown's 'Genesis', already mentioned; Douglas Campbell's 'Puritan in Holland, England, and America'; and in the writings of Thomas F. Gordon, Richard Hildreth, Dr. H. M. Dexter, Justin Winsor, Henry Cabot Lodge, and others. Perhaps the best English works on the subject are Joseph Hunter's 'Collections concerning New England,' and J. A. Doyle's 'The English in America.'

As a matter of historical accuracy, a broad line of distinction must be drawn between the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth Colony and the Puritans who settled, nine years later, in Massachusetts. Unhappily, like their brethren in England, they displayed a spirit of intolerance towards those who differed in matters of speculative theology and forms of Church government; especially in the case of Romanists, Episcopalians, Baptists, and Quakers; whereas the Pilgrim Fathers, who were, from the outset, avowed Separatists, are absolutely free from reproach in this matter. They merit the tribute paid to them in the beautiful lines by Felicia Hemans,—"They left unstained what there they found; Freedom to worship God." The Puritan settlement of Salem, Massachusetts, led by the stern John Endicott, of witch-notoriety, the theme of Longfellow's dramatic poem, and of Hawthorne's 'Scarlet Letter,' was begun in 1628, but was definitely founded in March, 1629, by a number of country gentlemen and well-to-do members of the professional and middle classes. They proceeded under the authority of a mercantile body in London, incorporated, with extensive, and even dangerous, powers, by the name of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. Their Charter was granted by Charles I., confirming their purchase from the New England

Company of the land between the Merrimac and the Charles Rivers, in the same week that he began his eleven years' experiment of governing England without a Parliament. The ecclesiastical authorities at home were too much occupied with their own concerns, in the life and death struggle that waged for a generation, to trouble themselves about America; and, in the next century, religious apathy froze out all missionary enterprise, and civil affairs on the Continent of Europe took the first place.

John Winthrop (1588–1640), a wealthy and an accomplished Puritan gentleman, of Groton, Suffolk, remarkable, like Colonel Hutchinson, for intellect and culture, and for the strength and beauty of his character, was chosen as Governor by the Massachusetts Company in October, 1629. He landed in Salem on the twelfth of June following, but soon removed to and settled Charlestown and Boston. His son, John (1606–1676), the fruit of a marriage unusually early, even in that age, became Governor of Connecticut; and the family has given other illustrious administrators to the United States. Sir Harry Vane—"young in years, but in sage counsel old," as Milton says in his Sonnet—was sent out by his father, for prudential reasons, and was elected Governor in 1636. He sowed seeds of tolerance and liberty that afterwards bore fruit in Massachusetts. Other well-known names among these self-expatriated landowners, yeomen, merchants, and divines—of whom there were eighty, half of them being graduates of Oxford or Cambridge—are Thomas Dudley, Thomas Hooker, John Humphrey, John Davenport, Simon Bradstreet, Isaac Johnson, William Vassall, and John Harvard. The last-named was the clergyman who left his library and half his estate, in 1638, to the college founded two years before by a grant of four hundred pounds from the General Court of the Colony. It has since developed into the renowned Harvard University, at Cambridge; one of the suburbs of Boston; where also the first printing-press on the American continent was set up, in 1640. A free school was founded in Salem in the same year; and another in Boston in 1642. Five years later, following the example set by Holland, and the one intro-

duced into Scotland by John Knox from Switzerland, a system of free elementary and grammar schools was projected for every township in Massachusetts; to be applied with each extension of the Colony, so "that learning may not be buried in the graves of our fathers." They prized learning for its own sake. Thomas Hooker, who founded Connecticut in 1636, was a distinguished member of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. John Cotton (1585–1652), who had been vicar of Boston, Lincolnshire, and an early settler in the town of the same name across the Atlantic, where he became the leading clergyman, was an accomplished Greek scholar, wrote Latin with elegance, and could discourse in Hebrew. Men like these were not ignorant, vulgar demagogues. Cotton declared that democracy was no fit government for Church or Commonwealth; and the majority of the Puritan settlers agreed with him. Universal suffrage was unknown and undreamed of. Winthrop strenuously opposed an unlimited democracy. He said that "the best part of a community is always the least; and of that best part the wiser is always the lesser." He did not believe in absolute intellectual or social equality; any more than George Washington and the founders of the Republic. There were unmistakable signs of authority and of official precedence. Vivid presentations of the customs, fashions, and domestic life of Old New England are given in the book of Alice Morse Earle, and in Upham's 'History of Salem Witchcraft.'

Such an institution as Harvard, established out of the public taxes in the early days, is a striking illustration of an unalterable purpose to realize in this new home the ideal of an educated Christian society. Scarcely had the forests been cleared for the inchoate streets of the infant settlement, than the College was begun. It was subsequently endowed by a succession of benefactors; the precursors of a long series of munificent founders of educational institutions throughout the United States. In the Report of the Commissioner of Education at Washington for the year 1886–7, returns were given from three hundred and sixty-one Universities and Colleges, besides numerous Schools of Science and

Agriculture ; with a list of personal gifts and bequests amounting, in addition to State appropriations and land grants, and contributions of religious bodies, to the magnificent sum of nearly one million sterling, during that year alone. Next to Harvard, in order of time, was the College of William and Mary ; founded at Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1693. Yale, at Newhaven, followed seven years later ; Princeton, New Jersey, in 1740 ; and five others were established prior to the Revolution. The presidency of Harvard was once offered to and accepted by the courtly and learned Dr. John Owen ; but his departure was prohibited by Charles II. Another honoured name in the early Colonial days is that of John Eliot, the Apostle of the Indians, who devoted himself to missionary, benevolent, and linguistic labours on their behalf, until his death, in 1690, at the age of eighty-six. A Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England was formed in London in 1649 ; and though its Charter was annulled at the Restoration, a new one was granted in the following year, with the illustrious Robert Boyle as president. Eliot was followed at intervals in the same field of service by other courageous and self-sacrificing men, like the Mayhews and David Brainerd.

When Winthrop landed, he found that eighty of the settlers had died during the preceding winter, and the survivors had only a fortnight's store of provisions. Within a year of his arrival, more than a thousand Puritans, most of them being, like the pioneers of the movement, country squires and yeomen, and persons of wealth, learning and influence, emigrated to the new Colony. William Stoughton uttered the simple truth when he said, in an election sermon of 1688, that God sifted a whole nation, that He might send choice grain into the wilderness. Familiar home names, like Portsmouth, Dover, Lynn, Ipswich, Worcester, Haverhill, Essex, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Boston, were reproduced. By 1624, there were nearly four thousand settlers ; and by 1640, or the time of the assembling of the Long Parliament, two hundred emigrant ships had crossed the Atlantic, and there were twenty-six thousand colonists. Struggling parties went forth, and founded what were afterwards known as Connecticut, New Hampshire,

Maine, and New Haven. Fenimore Cooper's novel, 'The Borderers,' relates to one of these early settlements. Maryland, in the South, called after the second name of the Queen of Charles I., was founded in 1634, under a Charter granted to Lord Baltimore; and at first was thinly peopled by Roman Catholics. There, also, religious tolerance prevailed, until Protestant Episcopalians obtained the upper hand. North Carolina became an offshoot from Virginia in 1653. South Carolina was established ten years later. The Puritan Exodus to New England virtually ceased in 1640. There was enough to occupy attention in the old country. For more than a century there was no considerable emigration to America.

It is a curious speculation as to what would have been the prevailing type of character, if such Cavalier settlers as peopled Virginia, or the strong Dutch infusion in New Amsterdam, or the French element in Canada, had become supreme, instead of the Puritan stock of New England, now spreading over the immense area of the Western States, with the later enormous infusion of the Teutonic element. The attempt made to found a new Scotland, or Nova Scotia, under a Charter granted in 1621 to Sir William Alexander, the poet, with the title of local baronet, and with six thousand acres of land, wholly failed after a short time; and the hyperborean region did not finally become a British possession until ceded by the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713. While each of the forty counties of England was more or less represented in Massachusetts, the Eastern Counties furnished more than all the rest together. Long afterwards, with the absorption of the vast French territory known as Louisiana, and with the formation of the Western States, there was an influx of population from almost every country in Europe, that has given to the American Republic a unique cosmopolitan character; but the original Separatist and Puritan influence, if somewhat attenuated, is still abiding; as is that of the numerous Scotch settlers from the North of Ireland, and of the Huguenots who flocked over from France on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. "Westward the course of Empire takes its way," wrote Bishop Berkeley, a century later, in verses

which read like a prophecy, and are comparable to the Virgilian panorama of Roman history in the Sixth Book of the 'Æneid.'

The Massachusetts settlers determined to found a Puritan Colony on the lines of being the true Church of the Reformation, as distinct from what they regarded as Popish innovations and accretions. "We do not go," they said, in one of their published documents, "as Separatists from the Church of England"—which they elsewhere designated, "our dear Mother"—"though we cannot but separate from the corruptions of it; but we go to practise the positive part of Church Reformation, and propagate the Gospel in America." But three thousand miles of ocean, the sudden change of conditions, and the stress of circumstances led them at once to question and then to abandon their former ecclesiastical position. They devised a system of their own; the logical terminus of which was final separation from Anglicanism. Immediately on their arrival they began to drift towards what may be regarded as the Henry Barrowe form of Independency; leading to a consociated Congregationalism, under the trend of new surroundings, and when detached from old habits and associates. By the friendly aid of the Plymouth Colony Church, one was formed at Salem, which developed into a kind of Presbytery; with a teacher to inculcate doctrine, a pastor to exhort and to console, and ruling lay elders to maintain discipline. Yet this organization was self-contained; and in it not a fragment of the hierarchical system found a place. The Liturgy was discarded; with all written prayers. It became, ere long, as one objector put it, "a speaking aristocracy, in the face of a silent democracy." A group of Episcopalians, setting up separate worship with the Prayer Book, were deported to England, as being "not conformable to the government." What had been seen and felt of Prelacy in England made these colonists resolved not to risk possible evils. To them it meant actual and unbearable tyranny; which they had crossed the ocean to escape. They intended to exclude the emissaries of Laud and Strafford; whose arrival there was every reason to dread. They feared that permitting any kind of Liturgy would lead to a surpliced priest, who

would be followed by a bishop, armed with the powers of the hated ecclesiastical courts. Their apprehensions, if groundless, were very real to them, with the vivid remembrance of all that they and their fathers had endured. Of necessity, therefore, they became practical Separatists; though, for the time, they set up and legalized an ecclesiastical fabric of their own.

The Puritan settlers intended to realize a lofty religious ideal. Earthly life was to be the visible form of an unseen but hoped-for heavenly life. A theocratic Commonwealth was framed, into which only those were admitted who avowed the theological belief and the religious aspirations of its founders. Church-membership was the test of citizenship. The scheme, however well-meant, failed inevitably; as was the case with similar schemes to found exclusive settlements in the present century at Canterbury, New Zealand, and elsewhere. The immediate result was to place too much temporal power in the hands of the Puritan clergy, until it became a source of danger to the community. Within the bounds of Massachusetts non-sympathizers and transcendentalists, like the bright and capable, but impulsive and indiscreet Anne Hutchinson, were not invited to settle. If they came, they must conform to the rigid pattern of Puritan sacerdotalism. Otherwise, and especially if, like her, they styled the ministers "nobodies," and freely criticized their sermons, they were banished; or sent back to England by the first ship; or, in flagrant cases, were fined, imprisoned, whipped, put in the stocks, and, if deemed witches and sorcerers, were executed.

Nothing can be urged in extenuation of the Puritan treatment of the Quakers in Massachusetts, except their venial defiance of authority and of mere forms, and the less excusable fanaticism and occasional indecorousness of some of them. They persisted in entering the bounds, even after repeated banishments, for the avowed purpose of publicly bearing testimony by asserting their peculiar opinions; which was often done in a grotesque manner. Their doctrine of the Inward Light was deemed peculiarly obnoxious. They repaired to the churches in order to interrupt the worship and to wrangle with the preachers. They hooted and reviled the magistrates; and at least

two of the women are said—but the statement has been denied—to have walked through the streets in Eve's costume, by way of testifying. After trying fines and banishment, imprisonment and scourging, ear-cropping and tongue-piercing, it was resolved, in 1656, to resort to capital punishment; though there was much opposition, and it passed the House of Deputies by a bare majority of one. Three men and one woman were actually hanged. They had come to Boston expressly to defy their persecutors. Others were condemned; but the public sentiment was so strong that no more executions took place. Massachusetts was not alone. Virginia passed a law making it a capital offence for Quakers to return a third time after banishment; and the Dutch in New Amsterdam imprisoned and whipped them.

It is easy to censure intolerance; especially on the part of those who had fled from similar treatment; but men who have been persecuted are rarely tolerant. Once more it must be remarked that religious liberty was unknown, even to the Later Puritans. They remained opposed to it for generations. Sincerely attached to their own doctrinal belief and modes of worship, and holding these to be absolutely true and Scriptural, they were determined to maintain them against all adversaries. They abandoned England because they were denied freedom to worship in their particular way. They sought to establish an oligarchy after their own pattern; neither Independent, in the sense of each community being separate and distinct, nor on the Presbyterian model which was attempted to be set up later by zealots of the Westminster Assembly. They sought a federated Congregationalism, in the form of Advisory Councils, on the basis of the famous Cambridge Platform, adopted at an assembly of representatives of all the Churches in New England, held in 1648, at that place, adjoining Boston. Nine years later, the community was rent and torn over the Halfway Covenant, that gave political rights to all baptized persons of decorous lives; whether church-members or not. Without plunging into the slough of controversy, on which hundreds of books and tracts, contemporaneous and later, have been

written and forgotten, and over which much valuable time has been wasted and much ill-temper displayed, it will suffice to say that the ecclesiastical system adopted was a Congregationalized Presbyterianism, or a Presbyterianized Congregationalism, according to the bias of the respective disputants; but having no roots in the one, and no branches in the other. Its framers firmly believed in a union of Church and State, and in the suppression of schism; but theirs was to be the ideal Church, and they were to be the judges and suppressors of schism. It was a repetition, in a new land and under fresh conditions, of what the English Puritans attempted. They might employ force, because they were in the right; but the adherents of other systems might not, because they were in the wrong! To force the truth upon others was no violation of conscience, because no man ought to reject the truth; that is, what they held to be the truth! The bald statement of such a theory is its own emphatic condemnation.

If these Puritan settlers were not wise Christians, they were assuredly strenuous religionists. They fell into the common mistake of confounding sin with crime. They severely punished blasphemy, adultery, sabbath-breaking, filial disobedience, profanity, and offences against manners and morals. The order of civic and social dignity was rigorously fixed and scrupulously observed in the assigned seats that denoted the scale of precedence in the meeting-houses; as the places of worship were termed; just as Sunday became the Sabbath, or the Lord's Day, or the First Day. The narrowness of their spirit forbids sympathy, and even awakens indignation; but it ought not to be allowed to obscure the moral greatness of their undertaking. Side by side with this rigid creed were placed a democratic form of government, and the system of free elementary and grammar schools. Three principles were yoked together, which were certain to come into conflict; and, in the end, the two that made for freedom prevailed over the one that repressed all liberty, except within its own circumscribed bounds. Moreover, the severe features animadverted upon were mildness itself compared with Dale's Code, in Virginia, where Puritanism was unknown; for absence

from the Episcopal church without a good excuse was a capital offence in that Colony, as was blasphemy, and also disobedience to clergymen; an elastic phrase that might be made to include anything. So late as the year 1701, there were only two Episcopal clergyman in New England; twenty-five in Virginia; seventeen in Maryland; and six in the other Colonies; or but fifty in all.

The little Colony of Plymouth, subsequently, in 1694, under William III., absorbed by its greater Puritan neighbour, set an example which Massachusetts was reluctant to imitate. John Cotton, in his elaborate controversy with Roger Williams (1599–1683), the founder of Providence, afterwards included in the Charter of Rhode Island, frankly asserted that persecution is not wrong in itself. He disapproved on principle of toleration. The learned, quick-witted, restless, pugnacious, but warm-hearted Roger Williams, the correspondent and friend of John Milton, was driven forth from the Colony of Massachusetts in 1635, at a few hours' notice, in the depth of Winter, with his wife and babes, by harsh Puritan bigots armed with magisterial authority, because he would not recognise it in religious matters; because of what were regarded as his extreme opinions in favour of religious freedom; because of his strong views respecting the Anglican Church, and what he regarded as the sinfulness of having any communion with it; and, perhaps worst of all, because he denied the right to hold land by royal grant, without purchase from the actual and natural owners. Like most men who are possessed with one idea, he lacked balance and proportion; and he attached undue importance to minor matters; but of his sincerity and uprightness there can be no doubt. Though full of logical subtleties, and delighting in disputation, and though his life was one of almost unbroken and often passionate strife, ending in the extreme of separation from all religious communities and fellowship, he was a gentle, honest, kindly soul, of unruffled sweetness of temper, a sagacious administrator, and a brave and resolute leader. Like his friend, Sir Henry Vane, he became one of the Seekers for new heavens and a new earth. His honourable transactions with the Indians, among whom he dwelt

alone and unarmed for months together, in order to acquire their language, won the esteem and confidence of the most savage tribes. This was the case also with William Penn (1644–1718), fifty years later, who brought with him, and impressed on the great State that bears his name, influences derived from his Dutch mother, and from his own residence in free Holland. In preparing his Frame of Government and his Code of Laws, Penn was aided by Algernon Sidney, who, like himself, was familiar with the institutions of the Netherlands. Writing in 1778, Benjamin Franklin said,—"In the love of liberty, and bravery in defence of it, Holland has been our great example."

The conduct of the Massachusetts settlers, however lamentable, is not surprising. They have enough to answer for; but they must be judged according to their knowledge and the circumstances. Their penal laws were not more severe than those in the Cavalier Colony of Virginia, and in the old country. They were not, and they never professed to be, the advocates of universal toleration. They looked to the civil government, or, in other words, to themselves in their corporate capacity, for the support of the Christian worship and ministry. They objected, not to secular control over the Church, but to its exercise by others, for what they deemed to be wrong and pernicious ends. On the other hand, they are not to be held responsible for the mythical Blue Laws of New Haven, in Connecticut, where Congregationalism was the established religion until 1818. Those laws never existed; though they have been made the theme of many ribald jests and scathing denunciations; like the preposterous phraseology and the burlesque titles of tracts given by such playwrights as Ben Jonson, Colley Cibber, and Isaac Bickerstaff. The story was first told in 1781 by one Samuel Peters, a Tory clergyman, a century and a half after the pretended occurrence. He took delight in narrating tales of wonder and horror; but his veracity is comparable to Baron Munchausen's. He declares, for example, that the river at Bellows Falls, in what is now called the State of Vermont, rushes with such velocity as to float iron crowbars; and he gravely describes animals that were evidently allied to the

Jabberwok. This romancing style explains his apocryphal extracts from the Blue Code, which existed only in his fertile imagination ; such as that "no woman shall kiss her child on the Sabbath," and that "no one shall play on any instrument of music except the drum, trumpet, or jewsharp" ; with other clauses which were not only ridiculous but monstrous. Though the fraud—worthy of a place beside the Ireland Shakspere, Lauder's Milton, and the Chatterton forgeries—has been repeatedly exposed, credulous, ignorant, and negligent persons still talk of these legendary laws as if they were formal enactments sternly administered.

CHAPTER LI.

PARLIAMENTARY STRUGGLES.

A.D. 1625–1628.

James I. died, March 27, 1625, at his favourite residence of Theobalds, near Enfield. His son, Charles (b. 1600, r. 1625–1649), succeeded to the throne at a critical time. The Puritan movement, as in earlier and later stages, might have been checked or guided by judicious concessions. Demands for the restoration of ancient civil liberties might have been yielded with grace. Their refusal overthrew the Crown, and cost the wearer his head. Charles was a true Stuart : arbitrary ; perfidious ; impracticable. His notions of prerogative were high and unyielding. It was an attempt at Cæsarism in the absence of a Cæsar. He would not bend, in the slightest degree ; and he was broken. A model husband and father, if somewhat uxorious, and too much under the influence of his French Catholic wife, Henrietta Maria, he was an unwise and incompetent ruler. "All men wondered," wrote Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson, "how so good a man could be so bad a prince." Silent, reserved, and secretive ; narrow-minded, obstinate, and punctilious in trifles, he had no sense of proportion, and was unable to discern the signs of the times and the drift

of events. He was born some centuries too late, and would not recognise the changed conditions; or, like Rip van Winkle, he woke up to find a changed world. Faithless to his promises, he lied of set purpose; not so much by positive falsehood, though he did not scruple about this, if he thought it needful, as by reticence, suppression, and partial statements, or such as were susceptible of and intended to convey a double meaning; as if it were a matter of principle to deceive. His speech was as elusive as quicksilver. It was impossible to seize upon any of his statements and attach to them a specific and an absolute meaning. He held that unquestioning obedience was due from subjects; but he denied that they had correlative claims to just and wise government, or any right to participate in legislation. They were born solely to obey; and it was his by Divine Right to rule. If they resisted, they must be coerced. If this failed, and he was compelled to yield, it was only in appearance, and for so long as the duress lasted or expediency required. No binding compact could be made, because his will must be supreme, and his policy could not change. The possibility never occurred to him that other opinions were sound and valid; or that kingship involved duties and obligations. Thwarted for a time, he always reverted to his schemes. Verbal assurances and oaths on his part were given; but with mental reservations. They might be broken when needful; and of this he was the sole judge. Machiavelli (1469–1527) never had a more diligent or apt student of his notorious eighteenth chapter, in which he discusses "the duty of princes as to the obligation of keeping faith," and asserts the broad principle that, for the establishment and maintenance of authority, any means may be resorted to; and that the worst and most treacherous acts of a ruler, however unlawful in themselves, are justified by the supposed or alleged wickedness and treachery of the governed. Even the most devoted adherents of Charles complained of his insincerity. They never knew how far they might trust his most solemn asseverations; or whether obedience to his positive orders would not be blamed and repudiated, if this served his immediate purpose. His

inveterate habit of treachery, and his exaggerated sense of prerogative, were the main causes of all his troubles. The two vices were intermixed.

If he had displayed for the Constitution and for popular rights a concern and a discrimination such as he displayed for works of art, it would have redounded to his lasting fame. As a private gentleman and a connoisseur, he would have adorned his station, and might have rivalled Alexander the Great or Pericles as patrons of Apelles and of Phidias. As a monarch, he was an anachronism and a failure. He gave munificent commissions to Vandyck and Rubens, and made a choice collection of pictures by Titian, Raphael, Correggio, and other great masters. He gave eighty thousand pounds for the Mantua Collection alone. His ambassadors had standing orders to procure for him any works of the kind, and the finest specimens of Greek and Roman sculpture. Of these, he possessed, in all, some four hundred; and he had thrice that number of pictures; besides a rare assortment of medals and engraved gems. To accommodate his treasures, a gallery was built by Inigo Jones (1572–1652), whose skill and taste in architecture were generously encouraged by Charles. Most of these works of art were, unfortunately, sold during the early days of the Commonwealth; owing to financial straits; under an Act passed by the Parliament in 1649, when the pictures and statuary were valued at scarcely fifty thousand pounds. Auctions were then unknown for such purposes; so the disposal was left in the hands of private agents for sale, chiefly among wealthy persons on the Continent. Some were restored to Charles II. by the States-General of Holland; others are still in the Louvre at Paris, in Madrid, and in Germany. The library of choice books was preserved through the influence and the efforts of John Selden.

The dislike of James to Parliaments was continued and intensified in the case of his son. If they had proved subservient to his will, they might have been convened as often as the need for money arose; but for the sole purpose of maintaining a golden stream for his use. As they asserted the right to criticise and to advise, he was indignant at their temerity; regarding it as an invasion

of the prerogative. The theory set up, though alien and absurd, was that the Legislature owed its existence to the will and favour of the monarch; which might be revoked or withheld. If he chose, he could levy taxes and govern without a Parliament. When allowed to meet, it was to register his decrees, and as a convenient instrument for raising indispensable funds. He claimed to be above the law. The liberties, the lives, and the property of his subjects were regarded as being at his disposal. When he did not see fit to consult Parliament, it had no right to intervene with counsel or remonstrance. To complain of the royal advisers, was an insult and an offence to the King, whose personal servants they were. To allege grievances and wrongs, was an impertinence. To seek their redress, was sedition. However much the subjects might be worried, robbed, and wronged, they must submit; because Passive Obedience was due to him as supreme. To question his prerogative was to be guilty of *lèse-majesté*. Such assumptions, however natural to an Eastern despot, were not to be tolerated by Englishmen in the seventeenth century, with a noble heritage stretching back to an illimitable Past. Yet Charles made them; insisted upon them; and went to war to secure them; after failing to do so by subtlety, chicanery, and falsehood. Successive Parliaments were angrily dissolved for not yielding to his demands. Members were imprisoned for months and years, because they exercised the ancient right of free speech in the House of Commons. Arbitrary taxes, loans, and fines were imposed, without legislative or judicial sanction, upon the wealthy, and especially upon such as were suspected of belonging to the patriot party. Charles publicly avowed more than once that no more Parliaments should be called; and by a Proclamation on March 27, 1629, declared it presumptuous for any one to speak of them

How little he liked constitutional control, appears from a letter addressed to the Speaker of his second Parliament, in February, 1626; in which he plainly said that the members were not to inquire into grievances. As complaints were rife of his favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, he wrote:—"I must let you know, that I

will not allow any of my servants to be questioned among you ; much less such as are of eminent place and near to me." He added, on the subject concerning which alone he cared to convene the Legislature :—" I would you would hasten for my supply, or else it will be worse for yourselves ; for if any ill happen, I think I shall be the last that shall feel it." In such insolent terms did he address an assembly of English gentlemen, chosen for their abilities and high character to represent the nation ; many of whom were famous long before he was born ; and who were not likely to submit to be treated in this contumelious manner. They had set themselves, with a devotion exceeding that fabled in the Quest of the Holy Grail, to search for and to restore the ancient liberties ; which had been too long infringed and weakened. All the great statesmen and patriots of this critical era appealed in support of their just and constitutional demands to Glanvill, to Bracton, to Fortescue, to the long line of Charters extorted from reluctant kings, and to the old Statutes declaratory of the national rights and liberties from time immemorial. They were resolute in their endeavours to maintain a just and legal equilibrium between the regal power and the rights of Parliament. The marvel is that the country endured fifteen years of despotism and falsehood.

A few days after the above episode, as the House persisted in discussing grievances, and was bent on impeaching Buckingham for his high crimes and misdemeanours, Charles sent for the members to Whitehall. After significantly praising the Lords, he said,—" And you, Gentleman of the Commons, I am sorry that I may not justly give the same thanks to you ; but I am come here to show you your errors. But I do not despair, because you shall see your faults so clearly by the Lord Keeper, that you may so amend your proceeding that this Parliament shall end comfortably and happily, though at the beginning it hath had some rubs." Then the Lord Keeper Coventry expressed the royal affection for Parliaments, " when conducted after an approved fashion " ; glancing obliquely at " the irregular humours of some particular persons " ; promising to hear and answer " just grievances after his reasonable demands were satisfied " ;

asserting a high claim for the royal rights; drawing a distinction "betwixt counsel and controlling, and between liberty and the abuse of liberty." He proceeded to name two members who had rendered themselves peculiarly obnoxious by their speeches; and blamed the House for having listened to them. "It is therefore his Majesty's express and final commandment that you yield obedience unto those directions which you have formerly received, and cease this unparliamentary inquisition, and commit unto His Majesty's care, and wisdom, and justice, the future reformation of these things which you suppose to be otherwise than they should be." This was a dress-rehearsal of similar scenes that occurred during the next three years. From the time of his accession until March 10, 1629, there were only five brief Sessions of the Legislature; and after that date it was not convened for eleven years.

Sir John Eliot (1590–1632), one of the most renowned leaders in this struggle, and one of its earliest martyrs, has left minute and faithful records of his times. As a young man he had made his mark in the Parliaments of 1614 and 1621, and gave promise of future eminence. Great as were his intellectual powers, and occupying as he did the front rank as a debater, Eliot's moral nature, his intense patriotism, and his disregard of all selfish considerations, were his chief characteristics, and won for him the admiration of the people and the hatred of the Court. He sat for the borough of Newport, in Cornwall; and by a kind of prescience he compiled for posterity an account of the scenes in which he took so prominent and noble a part, when battling for national rights and liberties. Another valuable source of contemporary information is supplied in the Fawsley MSS.; issued by the Camden Society. In the very first Parliament, which met on June 18, 1625, John Williams (1582–1650), Bishop of Lincoln, and, for the time, Lord Keeper, dropped a broad hint during the customary opening address, that they "should not stick too much to precedents; for nothing could be unparliamentary which was resolved by them." Protests were instantly made against the terms of Charles's recent marriage treaty with Henrietta Maria of France (1609–1660). The arrangements, which were regarded as

unduly favouring Jesuits and Recusants in this country, in defiance of law, had been kept secret, and were only discovered by accident. This marriage of convenience, like most royal alliances, was brought about by political and dynastic considerations. It rendered impossible a purely Protestant rule.

In order to effect the marriage, occult promises were made and conditions accepted, in direct infraction of Acts of Parliament. It proved a snare and a weakness to Charles; for his wife never ceased to act for the promotion of her religion and for the advancement of French interests; and she was perpetually urging him to assert himself, like her brother, Louis XIII. When an attempt was made in the opening days of the Session of 1625 to set aside the usage of considering grievances, the question arose as to what was to be done respecting the Committee for Religion, and the political and social dangers to which the country was exposed. It was unfortunate that the House of Commons should be turned aside from its proper functions, and degraded into a wrangling school of polemical theology; but this anomalous action was thrust upon it. Charles I. lent himself to a narrow and extreme party in the Church; forgetting that he was the head of the nation. Its religion he treated as a matter with which Parliament, as representing the entire people, had no concern; thus violating ancient laws and precedents. He and his adviser, Laud, were bent upon forcing a system that was hateful to a very large and influential part of the community; if not, as is probable, to the actual majority. This the Commons would not tolerate. They affirmed a resolution, drafted by Eliot, Pym, and other members, that they would not allow the religion of England to be changed, or a meaning forced upon the Thirty-nine Articles which they were not intended to bear. This explains the attitude of successive Parliaments on the burning subject of religion.

To those clear-sighted and patriotic men, with the vivid recollection of recent struggles in England, and in the presence of what was then transpiring on the Continent of Europe, where the Catholic League was waging the Thirty Years' War, for the avowed purpose of extirpating Protestantism, Popery was inimical to freedom,

and was a constant menace to the nation. The difference between the controversialists was immeasurable, and the issues were vital. It was not an outbreak of mere fanaticism, but the assertion of a solemn resolve to guard the country from what were deemed real and terrible dangers. Not the least of these was that some of the prelates and other dignitaries of the Church, as has been the case in all times, displayed leanings towards Rome. If the severe Calvinism, and what may appear to be the narrowness of the Puritan majority in the Commons be condemned by the more enlightened sentiment of modern times, it is needful to remember that while they proscribed, on political grounds, the religious opinions of the few, the Court party was scheming to proscribe the religious convictions and practices of the many. It was known, as stated by Eliot, that the policy of Charles and his advisers was "to make the men most obnoxious most secure, and those that were most hateful to the public to be most honoured and esteemed." In vain were attempts made to stifle discussion. A hare-brained cleric named Montague—afterwards rewarded with a mitre, and then translated from Chichester to Norwich as a further recompense of subserviency—had published two books, now happily forgotten, but which excited alarm or delight, according as the Puritan or the High Anglican view was taken. The House insisted on a deliverance by way of protest. No fresh Statutes were devised, but it was felt needful to prevent the continual remission of existing penalties against Recusants, under a dispensing power claimed by the Crown. The Subsidy granted, of about one hundred and forty thousand pounds, was deemed insufficient. Indeed, it was not one-eighth part of the liabilities to which Charles was secretly pledged; the nature whereof he would not reveal.

Three-fourths of the members had left London on account of an outbreak of plague, and thinking that the business of Supply was at an end, when Buckingham instructed one of the Court nominees to obtain an additional sum. Eliot waited on the Duke, and for two hours sought to dissuade him; saying that disagreement would certainly be aroused. He was told, in reply, that success was not so much desired, as reasonable ground

for a rupture. Henceforth, he was regarded by Eliot with an aversion, and was denounced with a persistency, similar to Burke's treatment of Warren Hastings; but with graver cause. Eliot saw through this man; an aggravated Lovelace, who had virtually been allowed to rule the country for eight years for his own ends. He hastened to the House, and succeeded in defeating the proposal. If Charles and his advisers would not confide their policy to the Commons, they would stop the supplies. Parliament was at once adjourned to Oxford, where the attempt was renewed. Then the flood-gates burst open. One member after another protested against the waste, the jobbery, and the monopolies that prevailed; while the coasts were being attacked by pirates, and disorders and abuses were unchecked. The favourite was mentioned by name; and it was plainly said that the faults lay with him or his agents. He tried to browbeat the House, when addressing it in the presence of Charles on the occasion of the royal assent being given to sundry measures. His "proud carriage" was rebuked by Eliot in terms that mark a new era of Parliamentary speech. The Commons resolved to prepare and present to the King a Remonstrance; but he took instant measures for a dissolution. A short Protest was hurriedly drafted, expressing loyalty, but declaring their purpose, at a proper time and "in a Parliamentary way," to bring to light and reform Grievances, and to provide a just measure of Supply. It also pointed out the danger of the King listening to those who would poison his mind against the Commons; whose true and hearty affection was the best security that a just English monarch could possess. This Protest was agreed to while Black Rod knocked at the door to summon the House to the presence of Charles, who was waiting to dissolve it. Thus, after two brief sittings of twenty-four and of twelve days, the first Parliament of this reign came to an abrupt end, on Friday, August 12, 1625. Even Clarendon finds no excuse for the policy pursued by his own party.

Intense feeling was provoked when the knowledge leaked out of a secret treaty made in 1625 between the Courts of England and France, to lend to the latter English ships and stores, for the purpose of exterminating

the Huguenots from their asylum in the free town of Rochelle. It was like the feeling that had been aroused in 1620 by the base desertion by James I. of his son-in-law, the Elector Frederick of the Palatinate, and King of Bohemia, whose Protestant subjects were abandoned to their doom after the Battle of Prague. Subsequent attempts on the part of rich and generous merchants of London to relieve their distress aroused the fury of Laud, and led to proceedings in the Star Chamber. The fall of Rochelle, October 28, 1628, after a protracted siege, was disastrous to the Huguenot cause in France; and, incidentally, it contributed to the temporary ruin of Protestantism in Germany, until Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden (1594–1632) entered upon his startling and triumphant career against the Catholic League, backed as it was by the whole force of the Empire. Meanwhile, an ill-managed military expedition to the Palatinate, and a foray with ten thousand troops upon Spain, proved disastrous; so that it was imperative to convene another Parliament in February, 1626, for the purpose of replenishing the empty coffers. They had been depleted by the coronation, four months before. The event was made a pretext for reviving, for the last time in England, the obsolete feudal demand for knight's fees. Queen Henrietta refused to share in the ceremonial, because she would not have it performed by Protestant prelates. The religious difficulty was always cropping up, in varying forms. One of the articles of the marriage contract stipulated that she was to have a chapel in St. James' Palace, with her own bishop and priests. These were gradually increased to thirty, and her total French retinue soon comprised four hundred and forty persons; costing the country two hundred and forty pounds a day. The feeling of resentment became so strong, and Charles himself, in spite of his uxoriousness, was so annoyed, that he broke up the establishment and ordered its members to return to France. They revenged themselves by setting up monstrous and false claims; most of which had to be paid, for the sake of getting rid of them; but they literally stole the Queen's extensive wardrobe and many of her jewels.

Laud, in his opening address to the new Legislature,

set forth the royal prerogative in fulsome phraseology, as he had done during the high ceremonial in the Abbey. His shrill and piercing voice was heard in an interpolated exhortation which he took upon himself to address to the King :—"Stand, and hold fast, henceforth, the place to which you have been heir by the succession of your forefathers ; being now delivered to you by the authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us, the bishops and servants of God. As you see the clergy come nearer the altar than others, so remember that in all places convenient you give them the greater honour, that the Mediator of God and man may establish you in the kingly throne to be a mediator between the clergy and the laity, and that you may reign for ever with Jesus Christ." To weaken the patriot party, a trick had been devised, to choose seven of the most prominent leaders as sheriffs, so as to incapacitate them from serving as members. Eliot at once came to the front. In a powerful speech he urged that before voting any money an account should be obtained of recent expenditure, and that pressing wrongs should be remedied. A Committee of Inquiry was appointed, and was divided into four parts for specific grievances. Day by day the investigation went on into the profligate waste in the public service ; misappropriation of Subsidies ; illegal taxes ; disgrace abroad, and lawlessness at home. All efforts at suppression were vain, though many of the witnesses prevaricated, or were reluctant and hostile. Nor did the direct interference of Charles divert the House from its quest. Eliot and his friends appealed to ancient precedents, as far back as the time of Henry IV. and Richard II. The legal and historical lore of John Selden, and the valuable library of Sir Robert Cotton, as famous as that of the Vatican, furnished stores of such information. As from the Tower of Pharos, the beams of constitutional rights and liberties poured forth down the ages. It was resolved, almost unanimously, that "three Subsidies and three Fifteenths be granted, payable at three separate times ; the Bill to be brought in when we shall have presented our Grievances, and received his Majesty's answer thereto." A recent attempt to pawn the Crown jewels in Holland gave point and pungency to this resolve ; from which the

Commons never swerved, although Charles sent for them twice, and demanded a further Supply, free from conditions; adding, that Parliaments were altogether in his power for their calling, sitting, and dissolution; "therefore as I find the fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue, or not to be."

The House instantly resolved itself into Grand Committee; sitting with locked doors. Another Remonstrance was prepared within a week; heedless of a feeble attempt of Charles to explain away his threat of dissolution. It rehearsed the causes of the dispute; vindicated the action taken; claimed their constant and undoubted right to inquire into abuses; and announced their intention to investigate the conduct of Buckingham; against whom a number of damaging facts had been brought to light. Early in May, he was impeached; the Articles charging him with the sale of offices, extortion, embezzlement, and other grave offences. Of his moral guilt there was no doubt. The difficulty was to establish it by legal proofs, in the absence of documentary or direct verbal evidence; which was carefully withheld. There were no Blue Books, or Returns, or Reports; and the servants of the Crown only told what they were permitted or inclined to say. Eliot was one of the managers for the Commons on the trial in the House of Lords. He recited the case with crushing force in a comprehensive speech. For this he was arrested by express command of Charles, and sent to the Tower, with Sir Dudley Digges, another of the managers, who had propounded the constitutional but unpalatable maxim that "kings cannot command ill or unlawful things; and whatsoever ill events succeed, the executioners of such designs must answer for them." The House resented the arrest as an attack upon their rights, and refused to proceed with any business until the members were released. This was reluctantly conceded, after eight days; and the House then resolved, "without one negative," that Eliot had not exceeded his commission at the trial. After such an act, it is not surprising that Charles stood discredited and mistrusted; the more so because he had tried similar measures with two Peers, and had been foiled.

Another Remonstrance was prepared, in the form of a

general allegation of Grievances; but especially craving "the removal of that great person, the Duke of Buckingham." Until this was done, they would vote no Supply; for they could not entrust the nation's money to a man in whom they had no confidence. To this Remonstrance no answer was vouchsafed. Parliament was at once dissolved, on June 11, 1626. Then a sham information was laid against the Duke in the Star Chamber, to which he gave a collusive answer, but all the entries were removed from the file two years later, by order of the King. A Declaration was issued in his name, in reply to the Remonstrance; printed copies of which were being widely circulated. Attempts were made to raise taxes without a Parliament; for another was not convened for twenty-one months. One method adopted was to issue a Proclamation, ordering Sheriffs to assemble the freeholders and induce them to consent to a voluntary assessment, on the hollow plea that the Legislature had gone so far as to frame a Money Bill, which circumstances prevented from becoming law! The experiment was tried in some places, but it was too hazardous and uncertain. The old and hated Benevolences were solicited, under the usual pressure; and Tunnage and Poundage levied, which had not been granted. Penalties were enforced against Nonconformists; but not against Romanists. Under the pretence of following a precedent set in Elizabeth's reign, London and the seaport towns were required to furnish ships and money, ostensibly for the protection of the coast commerce; an archaic revival of the Danegeld, but wholly without the excuse that prevailed in 1588 at the time of the Spanish Armada; when, if ever, law might have been strained in presence of a danger that threatened to overwhelm the nation. Remonstrances and objections poured in upon the Council; and the unauthorized levies failed.

The clergy were ordered to preach the duty of obedience to royal edicts. Many complied, nothing loth, under the influence and example of Laud, who drafted the instructions, and did his best to enforce them. He was not yet Primate, or even a bishop; and so his personal authority was restricted; but he possessed the influence and wielded the power of the Court. Archbishop Abbot

(1562–1633), who succeeded Bancroft in 1611, and who had no sympathy with the Laudian scheme, refused his concurrence; though, hitherto, a strong supporter of the dogmas of Divine Right and of Passive Obedience. His elevation was attributed to his having described James I., in the preface to a book, as being "zealous as David, learned as Solomon, and religious as Josias." He and Laud were ancient adversaries; and the latter had tried to supersede him in 1622; when, by chance-medley, Abbot killed a man by a shaft from a cross-bow while hunting. The Archbishop would not license the printing of a sermon by a clerical sycophant, one Robert Sibthorpe, at Northampton Assizes, in February, 1627; asserting in the broadest terms that slavish obedience was the duty of subjects. Another cleric, named Manwaring, said, when preaching in July before Charles and his Court, who were enraptured with the utterance, that the first of all relations was that between the Creator and the creature; next, between husband and wife, parent and child, lord and servant; and "from all these arose that most high, sacred, and transcendent relation between King and subject." He asserted that the mere will of the sovereign justified taxation; and that those who refused to pay would certainly be damned in the next world. These utterances were made from the pulpit of the Chapel Royal, where, as Pym said, "that doctrine was already so well believed that no man needed to be converted." The incendiary preacher was impeached by the Commons at the bar of the House of Lords, in June, 1628; was fined one thousand pounds; ordered to be imprisoned during pleasure; and suspended from his clerical functions for three years. The King at once pardoned him; gave him a valuable living; and some years later created him Bishop of St. David's. Such conduct was then the high and sure road to a mitre. For refusing to sanction the publication of similar folly and blasphemy in the case of Sibthorpe, Abbot was suspended, and banished to his country house. He could not be canonically deprived; but his functions were entrusted to a commission, of which Laud was the leading spirit. Abbot was only partially restored to favour in December, 1628.

As the voluntary scheme of taxation had collapsed, and money must be obtained at any cost and by any means, seventy thousand ounces of the so-called royal plate, purchased out of the taxes, were melted down. An attempt was also made to abase the coinage. Monopolies were revived and sold. Compulsory knighthood could only be escaped by heavy fines. The Crown lands were illegally mortgaged or alienated, and the owners of contiguous property were amerced for pretended encroachments. A Proclamation was issued for a general forced loan; with a promise that it should not constitute a precedent, and a pledge to repay the money out of the next Subsidy. This was a transparent fiction; for the money was certain never to be restored. Commissioners were appointed to make the levy, armed with summary powers of dealing with the reluctant and refractory. Hundreds were sent to prison, until the gaols were filled, and the Council was confronted with the impossibility of incarcerating the majority of the people in certain districts. Mercenary troops in the pay of Charles were billeted upon private houses, and left to do as they chose in the way of damage and insult; as a brutal punishment for the occupants refusing to pay. Numbers of the poor were pressed into the Army or Navy, and sent abroad to the wars. Many petitions among the Council papers attest the scandalous outrages and wrongs inflicted. These desperate attempts of a bankrupt and discredited Government continued through the year 1627. To add to the complications, England was at war alternately with France or with Spain, and sometimes with both. One of the most important events was Buckingham's ill-fated expedition to the Isle of Rhé; ostensibly for the relief of the Huguenots of Rochelle, in the Summer of 1627. Commenced in a pompous and costly manner, and carried on for four months at enormous waste of men and materials, it ended in disaster, as terrible as the mismanaged and scandalous Walcheren Expedition in 1809. Nothing but blind infatuation for Buckingham could have produced such a blunder as this war; but his influence over Charles was such that he absolutely controlled him and dictated his policy.

Difficulties were accumulating at home. The hired

soldiers and sailors were in a state bordering on mutiny, for arrears of pay. In January, 1627, John Hampden (1594–1643), a Buckinghamshire squire, known as a diligent and promising member of the late Parliament, had been summoned before the Privy Council for refusing to contribute to the forced loan, and was sent to prison during pleasure. So close was the incarceration, "that he never afterwards did look like the same man." A similar course was adopted with Eliot. Several other prominent men were also arrested. Five of them sued out a writ of Habeas Corpus, which was argued in the Court of King's Bench in November. On their behalf it was demanded, as of right, that they should be brought to trial on specific charges; or bailed; or set at liberty. Their counsel, including the learned Selden, denied the power of the Privy Council to imprison indefinitely without cause shown; otherwise, it was urged, a man might be incarcerated for life without trial. Attorney-General Heath dared not traverse this plea, but asked the judges to trust the King, and take it for granted that he had good reasons for withholding the case for the present from their knowledge. They complied, so far as refusing bail; but they prudently abstained from placing on the record any opinion that the Crown might persistently decline to show cause. However, on the second of January, 1628, it was deemed politic to release all who were detained for refusing to pay the forced loan. This was not done as an act of right, nor was it accepted as a favour. Already, the hated necessity of convening another Parliament had been discussed in the Council; which, as had been the custom for a long time, sat day by day. There was a financial deadlock; and any other mode of extrication seemed impossible. A project to bring German cavalry over to intimidate or cut down the people, had to be abandoned. Most reluctantly, it was decided at the end of the month to issue writs for the elections. Various schemes were discussed for making the Lower House pliable and subservient; but nothing came of them. It was even proposed to anticipate the Subsidy, and to make fresh demands of Ship-Money. Letters were sent out for both purposes, but they were recalled before the ominous mutterings of a storm.

CHAPTER LII.

THE PETITION OF RIGHT.

A.D. 1628–1629.

THE elections for the Parliament of 1628 went against the Crown nominees. Candidates who had resisted Ship-Money and the Forced Loan were returned with enthusiasm. The first sitting was held on the seventeenth of March; the patriot party forming the majority. Charles met them in an angry temper, and with a speech of studied rudeness. Supply was the urgent demand. If not granted at once, "I must," he said, "in discharge of my conscience, use those other means which God hath put in my hands." The Commons were firm in discussing Grievances first. The task seemed as wearisome and as endless as that of Sisyphus; yet they persevered. Coke, then seventy-eight years of age, appealed to Magna Charta and its frequent confirmations, against freemen being taxed without their consent through Parliament. Eliot and other speakers took up the same impregnable position. Sir Thomas Wentworth employed his vast ability in seeking to trim between the Crown and the Parliament. Charles sent repeated messages during ten days; urging speed in voting money. The reply to this cuckoo-call was uniform and respectful; but the House would not swerve. A Committee was again appointed to inquire into late illegal proceedings, such as the power claimed and exercised to commit to prison without any charge being set forth in the warrant; and the refusal of venal judges, under orders from the Privy Council, to grant writs of Habeas Corpus. The Court nominee members defended the practice. "What!" exclaimed Coke, "shall I have an estate of inheritance for life, or for years, in my land, and shall I be a tenant at will for my liberty? A freeman, to be a tenant at will for his freedom? There is no such tenure in all Lyttleton"; the great jurist of the fifteenth century, and the chief authority on tenures. Four resolutions were adopted, declaratory of ancient rights. Concurrence being sought from the Lords, Charles instantly created a number of

peers, devoted to his interests ; and the resolutions were toned down in the Upper House. The Commons stood resolute, and demanded a conference. Then the King sent for the two Houses ; declared his adhesion to the old Charters ; promised to all subjects freedom in their persons and safety in their estates ; said that he would govern according to the laws of the realm, and that they might rely on his royal word. Hoping to bind him, a Committee was appointed to draft a Bill embodying the Statutes that concerned the liberties of the subject. This was debated, but abandoned, and it gave place, on the eighth of May, to the immortal Petition of Right.

This famous document was suggested by Sir Edward Coke, and was drafted by him, Selden, and other great lawyers ; after careful search of the ancient Charters, Statutes, and Rolls of Record. It was in the customary form of the olden time ; setting forth the law, and praying for its strict observance. Like the Great Charter, of which it is the complement, it set up no new constitutional boundaries, and created no fresh rights and privileges. It circumscribed the Stuart monarchy, as the Charters did with Henry II., with John, and with the Edwards, by appeals to much earlier principles and laws. Pym justly remarked during the debate,—"There are plain footsteps of our laws in the government of the Saxons. They were of that vigour and force as to overlive the Conquest ; nay, to give bounds and limits to the Conqueror. From him the same obligation descended to his successors." Hence this historical and constitutional State Paper recapitulated and re-affirmed ancient franchises, by reciting the old securities for personal freedom. Numerous instances were given of their violation in recent years ; and the King was asked to concur with Parliament in rendering such illegal acts as forced taxes, billeting, and arbitrary imprisonment, impossible for the future. Some of his creatures in the Upper House tried to emasculate the measure ; but the Commons, after several conferences, carried their point. When the Petition was presented, towards the end of May, Charles received it in moody silence. He secretly sent for the two Chief Justices, Sir Nicholas Hyde and Sir Thomas Richardson, and propounded a series of questions—copies

of which, with their answers, still exist—in the hope of evading or defeating it. The judges made guarded replies. Corrupt though they were, and anxious to please him, they dared not risk a contest with the great lawyers and jurists in the Commons. On June 2, the King tried to wriggle out of the dilemma by causing these words to be read to the two Houses, instead of giving the customary Norman-French assent which had been heard for five centuries :—"The King willeth that right be done, according to the laws and customs of the realm; and that the Statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrongs or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged as of his own prerogative."

The evasion of this reply was palpable. It meant absolutely nothing. The Commons took it into consideration the next day; uninfluenced by a royal message that he had given to the Petition an answer "full of grace and justice," and would give no other; that the Session would end on that day week; and again urging that Supply be hastened. It was resolved to frame another Remonstrance, or formal Statement of Grievances, and to resume the impeachment of Buckingham, as the author of all the calamities and sufferings of the nation. The Speaker, Sir John Finch, who was often closeted with the King, brought another message, "that they should not enter into any new business that might spend greater time, or that might lay any scandal or aspersion upon the State government or the Ministers thereof." Then ensued an unparalleled scene. Finch interrupted Eliot and others when they referred to Buckingham; declaring, with tears in his eyes, that a command to that effect was laid upon him. Strong and brave men though the patriots were, this prohibition of free speech deeply moved them, so that they sobbed and wept, and could not for a time find utterance, because of their emotion. But they rallied; and the House went into Grand Committee. This dispensed with the Speaker's presence in the chair; so that liberty of speech was secured. The doors were locked, and Coke resumed the debate in a noble speech; fortified with

precedents. He ended by asserting that the author and cause of all those miseries was the Duke of Buckingham. Vehement shouts of assent arose on all sides, and it was determined to proceed with the Remonstrance. While the particulars were being settled, a message came from Charles that he would signify his pleasure the next morning. The House instantly adjourned, with that respect which continued to mark the proceedings, although loyalty had been so severely strained. On the sixth of June, a statement was received that he had no intention to forbid the naming of any man who could be proved a corrupt judge, or a pensioner of France or of Spain; but he would have none complained of for giving counsel; because that was a reflection upon himself. The Commons, dissatisfied with this, resumed the consideration of the Remonstrance. The Upper House sent a message, suggesting a joint Address for a clear and satisfactory answer in full Parliament to the Petition of Right. Consent was at once given; but Charles, who was kept apprised of the proceedings, anticipated the movement by calling the Houses together, expressing regret that his former answer was deemed unsatisfactory, and saying that he had directed it to be cut out from the Journals and another substituted. Then the usual formula, *Soit droit fait comme il est desiré*, was pronounced, after the Petition of Right had been read. Shouts of approval were heard, and as the news spread into the country there were bonfires, bell-ringing, and acclamation.

It might be supposed that by agreeing thus unreservedly, the King bound himself to raise no taxes without the consent of Parliament, to imprison no one without due process of law; and not to interfere with the ordinary tribunals in dealing with offences. All history shows how feeble are barriers of paper or of parchment, even when strengthened by a monarch's oath, against the torrents of regal and ecclesiastical despotism. The popular leaders in the Commons, however, had experienced too many instances of royal duplicity; and they knew the unscrupulousness of Buckingham. While voting a Supply, under conditions, they deemed it necessary to perfect their new

Remonstrance, so that it might be recorded as a protest against misrule in both State and Church. Under eight specific heads, particulars were given. To crown all, Buckingham was named as the chief cause of the public troubles and dangers. When the Remonstrance, which was adopted without a division, was presented on the eleventh of June, and read aloud, he stood by the King and heard himself thus openly stigmatized. He was biding his time, and chewing the cud of vengeance. Charles listened with manifest impatience and anger. Disregarding the renewed assurances of loyalty, and the touching appeal that he would consider the just wishes and legal rights of his people, he fell back, as usual, on his insulted dignity, and curtly said that he had not expected to be so addressed, after yielding in the matter of the Petition of Right. That his consent to this was verbal and hollow, immediately appeared. Since the time of Henry VI., it had been customary to grant Tunnage and Poundage to each Sovereign for life, but the express right of Parliament to do so had always been asserted. The money raised was lavished on Court favourites. To put a stop to this, the Commons proposed to make the grant only until the next Session. Charles, as of right, demanded it for life. Another Remonstrance, the fifth, was submitted on June 25, 1628, but he hurried down early the next morning, without waiting to be robed, and prorogued Parliament with a scolding and insolent address. The Remonstrance could not be adopted; but neither did he obtain a grant of Tunnage and Poundage. In the closing words of his speech, he reiterated the old claims of his prerogative, in a manner that was gratuitously and studiously offensive. If he had made slight concessions in the earlier stages of the dispute, the results would have been different; but the time for conciliation had gone by. He had burned his boats; and retreat was hopeless.

Immediately after the prorogation, fifteen hundred copies of the Petition, with the final form of royal assent, were stopped in the course of issue by the printer, and destroyed. A larger number were distributed with the original evasive answer which had been cancelled. No one was deceived by this impudent fraud; and it was

sure to be exposed in the next Session of Parliament. The act was alike stupid, fatuous, and malignant. Recourse was again had to arbitrary methods of taxation. Charles also ordered that the last Remonstrance, naming Buckingham, should be expunged from the records of Parliament. This ostrich-like policy could not efface the fact from human memory. But all further trouble and mischief connected with this man were suddenly ended by a tragic deed. On August 23, 1628, he was assassinated in Portsmouth by an army officer named Felton, in revenge for disappointment in obtaining promotion, and for alleged arrears of pay withheld from him. The populace were jubilant. Ribald songs were sung in the streets. Strenuous endeavours were made to connect the Parliamentary leaders with the crime ; but its perpetrator denied to the last, though threatened with the rack, that he had any accomplices. No change of policy resulted from the murder of the favourite. If possible, personal government became more marked. Others arose to take his place, and to encourage Charles to pursue his wilful course. Buckingham was one of the triumvirate who are mainly responsible for the misgovernment and tyranny of this reign ; though Charles was not a mere puppet in their hands. He had the fatal instinct to select his Ministers from among the unscrupulous advocates of the autocracy of the Crown. They lent themselves to carry out his scheme of despotic personal rule, and the extinction of popular liberties ; in the same way as Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642) was doing in France, with his reckless measures and crushing tyranny. For a time, they were successful ; but, in the end, they expiated their treason against the State by violent deaths.

The second of the three instruments was William Laud (1573–1645), Bishop of London from 1628, and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633. As a young man, he devoted himself to the High Anglican party, and reaped the reward of his bustling zeal in a rapid shower of rich Church preferments. He strove to establish the perpetual visibility of the Anglican communion as a branch of the great Catholic Church ; distinguishable alike from Romanism and from Calvinism ; with a claim of unbroken descent from the Ante-Nicean Councils.

His famous controversy with Fisher the Jesuit—or, as he was sometimes called, Father John Percy, the means of Chillingworth's transient perversion—was intended to prove this. Historically, on the liturgical side, he was carrying out to its logical extreme Cranmer's unfortunate theory of *Via Media*; but, doctrinally, as judged by the Articles, he was wholly wrong. Laud was not a Papist; though strongly suspected. He acknowledged the Romish as a branch of the true Church, but he would not recognise the subordination of the English. He was secretly offered a Cardinalate; but refused it. The Puritans dreaded a threatened restoration of Popery under a new guise, and by the Arminian teachings which he substituted for the Augustinian and Calvinistic tenets held by Cranmer, Jewel, Parker, Whitgift, and other Fathers of their Church. After the murder of Buckingham, he became the chief adviser of Charles; filling the offices of Chancellor of Oxford University and the Chief Commissioner of the Treasury; being virtually Foreign Minister, the inspiration of the Council, of the Star Chamber, and of the High Commission Court. During the long Parliamentary hiatus, he was the main instrument in seeking to enforce political and spiritual subservience. Despotic rule; the authority of mere tradition; and implicit obedience were his watchwords. He derided patriotism; cared nothing for speculative thought, or deep conviction; and scouted public opinion.

Under Laud, the High Commission Court rigorously enforced the Act of Uniformity. All who refused to comply with its provisions, and all who sought to sever themselves from the ecclesiastical fold, were punished by fine and imprisonment. He was the chief author of the Declaration prefixed to the edition of the Articles in 1628, which still appears in the Book of Common Prayer. Every clergyman entering upon a cure had to read this publicly. It re-asserted the royal supremacy; the conformity of the Articles to the Word of God; and the subordination of Convocation. It prohibited "the least difference from the said Articles"; required a uniform profession of them from all subjects; forbade unnecessary disputations, altercations, or questions; or any personal sense or comment to be placed on them,

other than in the literal and grammatical sense. This Declaration was issued on the authority of the King and Council, with that of a few of the bishops who could be hurriedly assembled. Parliament was ignored. The King and the Convocation were expressly declared to be the sole authority; and care was taken to state that the latter could not meet "without leave under our broad Seal so to do," and that the royal assent was essential to the validity of any acts of Convocation; which, however, was not convened for this purpose. The closing words of the Declaration stated that "offenders shall be liable to our displeasure, and the Church's censure in our Commission Ecclesiastical, as well as in any other; and we will see there shall be due execution upon them." How the threat was carried out is shown in the next Chapter. By magnifying the regal authority, he hoped, through his influence with Charles, to establish that of the Church.

The story told of his grotesque histrionics at the consecration of St. Catharine Cree Church, near the Tower—unless, as is probable, it is exaggerated by William Prynne and John Rushworth, who hated him—exemplifies the spirit of his episcopal rule. He valued the pomp and splendour of an ornate ritual, because it aroused popular wonder and awe, and helped to promote reverence for the clergy as a distinct and superior order. He called the Beauty of Holiness what Sir Philip Sidney had scornfully termed "mountebank holiness." A martinet and an ecclesiastical drill-serjeant in all matters of ritual, he would not allow the slightest divergence from prescribed forms. The thaumaturgy initiated by Bancroft, and his Divine Right theory of Episcopacy, were fully developed. Clerical vestments were made compulsory. Long sermons were discouraged. Lectureships founded by Puritan merchants were suppressed. Every formula prescribed in the Prayer Book had to be carried out to the letter. Entreaties for reasonable liberty in minor matters were spurned. His consuming passion was to extirpate Puritanism, because it was opposed to the domination on which he was bent in Church and State. He insisted on punctilious observance of forms prized only for the symbolism which the

Puritans loathed as savouring of idolatry and Popery. The Communion-table was banished from the body of the church, where the congregation "sat around like good fellows," as Bramhall ironically described it. Stone altars had been removed since the Reformation, and wooden tables substituted. The word "altar" was dropped from the 1552 Prayer Book; denoting that a sacrifice was no longer to be offered, as in the central act of worship in the Romish Church. Laud insisted on a reversion to the old usage. The East end of the chancel was again occupied with a railed-in structure, and approached by outward acts of reverence. The name of Altar was restored, with the title of Priest, and the doctrine of a Real Presence in the Eucharist.

Laud was much more and much worse than the weak, ill-starred, unfortunate pedant described by Carlyle in his 'Lectures on Heroes;' or whom Macaulay ridicules because of the absurd dreams recorded in his 'Diary.' His vigilance was lynx-eyed and sleepless; extending to all persons, professions, and classes. Nothing seemed too lofty, too small, or too distant to escape his regulating hand. Like the tentacles of a mighty octopus, he tenaciously grasped and vigorously exerted a control that was almost ubiquitous and omnipotent, not only in matters of religious belief and practice, but in political and social ramifications. He outwitted and humbled Chief Justice Heath. His first patron, Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and Lord Keeper, tried conclusions with him; but was foiled and disgraced. Among the numerous and miscellaneous matters that received attention were the care of cathedrals; the reparation of churches; visitation of the clergy; Sunday recreations of the people; a rigid censorship of the Press; control of the Inns of Court; the regulation of foreign Protestant refugees, and of English Protestants in Holland and elsewhere. He had no sense of political perspective. Small offences were magnified into great crimes. He failed in his attempts to un-Protestantize the Church of England; to establish an absolute despotism; and to extirpate freedom of thought. It has been said that he succeeded in impressing upon the Church of England his own personality, his extreme ritualism, his hier-

archical theory, and his Arminian constructions of its Articles. Yet the results were only attained by the abandonment of his methods; and the success was of a kind that entailed utter disaster in another way.

Of Laud's personal abilities and courage there can be no question; nor need his sincerity be doubted. He is far from being a solitary instance of a man deceiving himself into a conscientious suppression of all consciences that differed from his own. It is due to him to record his lavish expenditure on the new buildings of St. John's College, Oxford, his Alma Mater; his generous gifts of Arabic literature to the Bodleian; and educational foundations at Windsor and at Reading. It is also just to record, against his many instances of intolerance, that a few men of an opposite school of thought owed their advancement in the Church more or less to him; such as Hall, Bishop of Norwich; Prideaux, Bishop of Winchester; Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh; Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury; Bedell, Bishop of Dromore; and William Chillingworth; most of whom, however, had to protest subsequently against the tendency of his views and policy. It would have fared hard with religion and with liberty but for them, and for men like Thomas Goodwin, Richard Sibbes, the renowned preacher of Gray's Inn and Master of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, Thomas Taylor, William Gouge, Samuel Ward, Thomas Adams, Robert Bolton, and Jeremiah Burroughs, most of whom he worried or persecuted. The gentle and beautiful spirit of George Herbert, rector of Bemerton, fled from all this strife to the serene world of which he so sweetly sung in 'The Temple.' He died in 1632, at the age of thirty-nine. The loving pen of his friend, the gentle Izaak Walton (1593–1683), wrote his memoir; a service which he also rendered to Hooker, Dr. John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, and Bishop Sanderson. His immortal work, 'The Complete Angler; or, Contemplative Man's Recreation,' secured, from the time of its first issue in 1655, the popularity it continues to enjoy, for its pastoral freshness and poetry, its charming simplicity of style, and the pure, tranquil, and pious spirit breathed through its pages.

The third and undoubtedly the ablest of the trio of

Fates, in the case of the doomed Charles, was Sir Thomas Wentworth (1593–1641), better known as the Earl of Strafford; "by merit raised to that bad eminence." He was commonly styled the Great Apostate; and is usually regarded with the infamy attaching to a Judas, a Julian, a Benedict Arnold, or an Aaron Burr. Yet, while acting for a time with the patriots in the House; while speaking in impassioned terms against Forced Loans; and while submitting to detention for refusing to pay, it seems certain that he was never really of them. So early as January, 1620, he wrote to Buckingham—whom he secretly hated—with offers of service, which evoked only a supercilious response or were coldly rejected. Eliot always mistrusted him, and read his character aright. Pym also withdrew his friendship, and gave Wentworth fair notice of opposition. Within nineteen days of his strenuously supporting the Petition of Right in June, 1628, he went over to the Court, and was instantly created a baron for his perfidy. Of an imperious nature; possessed of transcendent abilities; self-reliant and ambitious; arrogant and overbearing, it was known that he was to be bought, if a sufficient price were paid. Sallust's description of Catiline, as used by Eliot in his terrible speech against Strafford, strictly applies in his case. The death of Buckingham removed the chief obstacle from his path. Attempts were being made to win over to the Court party some of the popular leaders; and he was the first, and the only one of any prominence, to succumb. Ever afterwards, as is always the case with renegades, he bitterly hated his old associates. Titles and emoluments were heaped upon him; and at length he was created Earl of Strafford. He was the first Englishman, according to Macaulay, "to whom a peerage was a sacrament of infamy; a baptism into the communion of corruption." Immediately after his detection, he was made President of the Council of the North; and, in 1632, Lord Deputy of Ireland.

His published correspondence reveals his devotion to autocractic rule, and his scorn of all opponents. He probably served, in part, as the original of Milton's Satan. His letters also demonstrate that he supported,

and perhaps devised, the most arbitrary measures of Charles; stimulated him in extreme assertions of prerogative; employed all his energies, and the vast powers with which he was armed, in crushing popular liberties; hesitated at nothing in carrying out what he called a policy of "Thorough"; hated the name of Parliament; and would have ruled the whole country by martial law. He is charged with having abused his authority, not only for political purposes, but to gratify his own pride, avarice, and revenge. He also established vast monopolies for his private benefit. The Council of the North, embracing Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, and Westmoreland, was a body originally created under Henry VII., by a stretch of prerogative, but greatly extended under Henry VIII., in 1541, at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace. The legality of its jurisdiction was always doubtful; as superseding the ordinary processes of justice. Interdicts against it were frequently applied for by harassed suitors, who sought the protection of the Courts at Westminster. Once, when such a request was granted, Strafford openly declared, in his haughty manner, that he would "lay by the heels" any judge who presumed to interfere with him. The name commonly given to him was Black Tom Tyrant; because of his swarthy complexion. Virtually, the Council of the North was above all law. Twice, at his request, its extensive powers were yet more enlarged by sole commissions from the King under the Great Seal. The regular and ancient Courts were set aside, and the people of the wide district from the Humber to the Scottish Border were subjected, bound hand and foot, to gross tyranny. The procedure was not conducted under the usual and established methods, but under those of the Star Chamber. Strafford was as despotic as an Oriental satrap; uncontrolled and uninfluenced by any one.

As Lord Deputy of Ireland, an office held conjointly with the Presidency of the North, some of his "high acts of oppression," as Clarendon is constrained to call them, aroused "dislike and terror in sober and dispassionate persons." His government there was one of despotic violence; tempered with rough but capricious justice. He held that the country

belonged to the Crown by right of conquest. His aims were to render himself, as Vicegerent, absolute in Ireland ; and to make a similar absolutism possible for Charles in England, by accomplishing what Richelieu was doing in France. The estates, the liberties, and the lives of the people were to be at the disposal of the Crown ; the law courts were to possess no independent authority ; and all who murmured against the Government, or sought relief from its despotism by applying to any tribunal, were punished with merciless severity. Dr. S. R. Gardiner, who has made the Stuart period his special study, says :—"He was an outspoken representative of that large class of politicians who hold that ability is the chief requisite for government, and who look with ill-concealed contempt upon the view which bases government upon the popular will. Happily, the people of England proved too strong, even for Strafford. He was never fully trusted ; or loyally supported ; or dealt with straightforwardly by the faithless and selfish King whom he served with such conspicuous capacity, and at the same time with such disregard of constitutional rights." As the reward for such unscrupulous service, in addition to being allowed unrestricted plunder, he coveted yet higher titular honours. Unconsciously, he taught later generations two lessons that should never be forgotten ; viz., that a standing army is a perpetual menace to public liberty ; and that arbitrary rule in a dependency is a stepping-stone to arbitrary rule at home.

Parliament was to have met after the prorogation on October 20, 1628, but was further prorogued until January 20, 1629. Before it assembled, the Privy Council discussed the course to be pursued. Such of the Councillors as were members of the House were instructed to oppose all measures that trenched upon the prerogative ; and to stifle, if possible, all debate upon former proceedings. They might as well have tried to dam up the tide or to chain the winds. The first thing done by the Commons was to inquire into the printing and circulating of the false answer to the Petition of Right. Its gross violation was urged by Selden, in various cases ; notably, "one had lately lost his ears by a

decree of the Star Chamber, by an arbitrary judgment." Selden indignantly added,—"Next, they will take away our arms; and then our legs; and so our lives. Let us see we are sensible of this. Customs creep on us. Let us make a just representation thereof unto his Majesty." The subject of religion was keenly debated during four days. As a protest against the recent royal Declaration, intended to promote the hierarchical and High Anglican notions of Laud, the following resolution was passed:—"We do claim, profess, and avow for truth the sense of the Articles of Religion which were established in Parliament in the reign of our late Queen Elizabeth, which by public acts of the Church of England, and by the general and concurrent exposition of the writers of our Church, have been delivered to us; and we do reject the sense of the Jesuits and Arminians, wherein they differ from us."

It was during this debate that the notable figure of Oliver Cromwell arose and uttered his maiden speech:—"He had heard by relation from one Dr. Beard"—his old schoolmaster at Huntingdon—"that Dr. Alablaster had preached flat Popery at Paul's Cross," and that Neile, then Bishop of Lincoln, and now Bishop of Winchester, had commanded Beard, as his diocesan, to preach nothing contrary to that which Alablaster had delivered; and reprehended him for controverting the former sermon. The House ordered that Beard be written to to come up and testify against the Bishop; the order to be delivered to Cromwell. He was member for Huntingdon, and was then thirty years of age; a plain yeoman with power in his frame and stamped on his brow. Born in the town of Huntingdon, April 25, 1599, he was descended from an ancient and honourable but somewhat decayed family. Through his mother, the blood of the Scottish Stuarts flowed in his veins. His father sat in the Parliament of 1591; as did two uncles at a later date. Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, Henry the Eighth's *Malleus Monachorum*, came of another branch of the same family. Oliver Cromwell was distinguished for earnest piety of the Puritan type, and by his hatred of Popery, because of its political power and its spiritual terrorism. With an unmusical voice, yet with deep feeling, his rugged sentences—

involved, broken, terse, idiomatic, vehement—and his general bearing marked him as original and forceful. Among his chief associates were the leaders of the patriot party. He first sat in the 1628 Parliament, but maintained an observant silence ; waiting for the opportunity that comes, sooner or later, to every man who has a message to deliver or a work to perform. The particular incident that brought him into publicity does not call for special notice. It was only one out of many such. There have been clerical buffoons in every age.

Another glimpse of Cromwell is furnished in the following year, when Parliament was no longer sitting, and the country was experiencing the real character of personal rule. One of the Court plans for repressing popular feeling was to change municipal institutions by arbitrary interference with Charters. These were revoked and new ones granted, for the purpose of depriving the inhabitants of the ancient right of electing local officials ; who were in future to be appointed for life, under the authority, and often by the express nomination of the Crown. The design was to create a small and obsequious class ; amenable to patronage or intimidation. Such a course was pursued in 1630 in Huntingdon ; to the indignation of the people. Cromwell, a Justice of the Peace for the borough, and its late representative in Parliament, spoke strongly against it. He was summoned before the Lords of the Council on the twenty-sixth of November, and was left in the custody of the messenger for five days ; when the matter was referred to the Earl of Manchester, then the owner of Hinchinbrook and the local magnate. He investigated the case, effected a compromise, and reconciled Cromwell to his chief local adversary. The anomaly and scandal that gave rise to this dispute were repeated on a larger scale by both the sons of Charles I. ; and the evil continued until the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 swept away the close and irresponsible Corporations, which had also, in many instances, usurped the election of members of Parliament ; to the disfranchisement of the general body of burgesses.

The illegal taxation, and especially the levying of Tunnage and Poundage on the sole authority of the

King, formed one of the chief topics of debate in the opening days of the brief Session of 1629. Certain Customs' officers were summoned to the bar for distraining the goods of one of the members, who had refused to pay the impost. When he pleaded privilege, he had been told by one of the official underlings, with the insolence that seems peculiar to the class, that the property would be seized "though he were the entire House." The real point, however, was not one of mere privilege. As Pym said,—"The liberties of this House are inferior to the liberties of the kingdom. To determine the privilege of this House is but a mean matter; the main end is to establish possession of the subjects"; *i.e.*, to secure them in the rightful enjoyment of their liberty and property. Many merchants had been harassed or threatened by proceedings in the Exchequer Court. "I find," said Eliot, "the judges, the Council, Sheriffs, farmers of the Customs, the Attorney-General, and all conspire to trample on the liberty of the subjects." The issue, as he stated it in the House, was clear and decisive:—"If Tunnage and Poundage be the King's already, as by their new records"—the Exchequer Court judgments—"it seemeth to be, we need not give. If otherwise, the King can only accept as a gift." Charles had the temerity to fling down the gauntlet by sending a message that all had been done in the matter by his command and authority. The Commons hesitated before this arrogant assumption. They would not surrender the power of the purse; for this had come down to them from patriotic ancestors as a solemn trust, and they were bound to guard it in the interests of their constituents and of posterity. At the same time, out of a sentiment of respect that lingered long, despite the strain upon their loyalty, they shrank from the direct collision which, as is now known, but was not known then, Charles was determined to provoke, on some ground of quarrel. His wife perpetually urged him on, and twitted him. He expressed himself as "ashamed that his cousins of France and Spain should have accomplished a work which he had scarcely begun"; referring to their assertion of freedom from all legislative control.

An adjournment was ordered for two days; and then another for five days. On the second of March, as soon as the House met, Speaker Finch said he was instructed by the King to declare another adjournment until the tenth. He rose to leave the chair, so as to end the sitting, but was forced back into his seat and held there by Holles and Valentine, while Eliot submitted a resolution, stating why Tunnage and Poundage had been temporarily withheld. Finch refused to receive or put it; as did the clerk at the table. Selden and others expostulated and threatened; but in vain. Eliot significantly declared,—"None have gone about to break Parliaments, but, in the end, Parliaments have broken them." The Speaker only replied, amidst the din and excitement, that he was acting on the King's express orders. At this juncture, a messenger arrived from Charles, who was impatiently awaiting Finch's return to Whitehall. The doors were locked, and Eliot read a short Declaration, hastily prepared to meet the emergency. It pronounced as capital enemies to the Kingdom and Commonwealth any who advised or collected Tunnage and Poundage or other charges contrary to law; and threatened them with severe punishment. A shout of assent arose. Meanwhile, Black Rod was knocking at the door to summon the members to the Upper House, where the King had gone without ceremony to dissolve Parliament on hearing of the extraordinary scene that was being enacted. No notice of the summons was taken; for it was felt, as the event proved, that, once dispersed, another meeting would not occur for a lengthened period. Other resolutions were submitted by Holles, in the same way, and carried by acclamation; specifically re-asserting the Commons' rights, and protesting against innovations in religion. Then the Speaker was released from duress; the doors were thrown open, and the members trooped forth; sweeping aside a royal officer of the guard who had just arrived to force an entrance. That indignity was spared; but only for a time. It came, thirteen years afterwards, with the attempted arrest of the Five Members. The work that had been accomplished during those two stormy hours could never be undone. Parliament was

not actually dissolved until the tenth of March ; but a Proclamation was issued on the fourth, to stop all further proceedings. On the same day, Eliot, Denzil Holles, Selden, Benjamin Valentine, William Strode, William Couton, Sir Miles Hobart, William Longe, and Sir Peter Hayman—names worthy of remembrance—were served with warrants to attend the Privy Council. The Dissolution took place without the presence of the Commons being required. The King published a statement, vindicating his course ; but it was nothing more than a reassertion of his own absolutism. No Parliament was convened for more than eleven years, dark as Erebus, during which a veritable Reign of Terror prevailed.

CHAPTER LIII.

GOVERNMENT BY PREROGATIVE.

A.D. 1629–1640.

Eliot and the other eight members were interrogated by the Privy Council respecting their speeches and votes in Parliament. Some, while giving general replies, claimed the privilege of membership. Others, including Eliot, refused to answer ; on the valid ground that they were responsible only to the House. Rigorous search was made of their lodgings ; seals were placed on their books and papers ; and they were confined separately. All this occurred six days prior to the dissolution of the Legislature. Questions were privately submitted to the twelve judges, as to the surest course to obtain a conviction ; especially in the case of Eliot, whom Charles designated, with a wilful perversion of facts, as "an outlawed man, desperate in mind and in fortune." It was hoped that Star Chamber proceedings would accomplish the desired end ; but, though commenced, they were dropped. Two months passed ; and writs of Habeas Corpus were sued for. Charles ordered the Lieutenant of the Tower not to obey. Even the corrupt judges were forced, out of shame or fear, to insist upon compliance with their

own orders and rules of procedure; though Heath, the Attorney-General, a mere creature of the Court, quibbled and objected, and went the length of denying the legality of the Petition of Right, on which was based the claim for bail or for immediate trial.

On the day appointed for hearing the case, June 23, 1629, the gaoler, instead of producing his prisoners, said they had been removed from his custody the night before; whereupon, the judges, with a chicanery and a hair-splitting extraordinary even among their craft, held that all they could do was to grant bail, or a remand, or a discharge; but that, as the accused were not present, nothing could be done. The Term closed; and by this cunning stroke they remained in custody through the Long Vacation. Sir Robert Cotton's superb library was closed by order of the Council, because it had furnished invaluable precedents and information to the patriot party. Within a year, he died, broken-hearted. Two of the accused submitted, and were set free. The remaining seven were brought before Sir Nicholas Hyde (1572–1631), Chief Justice of the King's Bench, on the third of October. Bail was offered, as a favour, on giving security. Only one accepted, and he immediately regretted his course and revoked his pledge of silence and good behaviour. The others demanded bail as of right, with specific charges and a speedy trial. Hyde warned them that they might have to remain in prison for years. This was in obedience to orders from the Court. Charles had written that if his act of grace was refused, they should "neither have their liberty by his letter nor by any other means till they acknowledged their fault"; in other words, that they had misconducted themselves in Parliament, and that he and the judges had a right to call them to account; both of which pretensions they denied. The same night, Eliot, Holles, and Valentine were removed from the Tower to the Marshalsea prison, in Southwark, on a vague information laid by Heath of a conspiracy to resist the royal order to dissolve Parliament. They remained there until January 26, 1630, when they were again brought up, on the question whether the King's Bench had jurisdiction. Their counsel made a long and able argument

on the constitutional grounds; but Hyde declared that the minds of the judges were made up, and that any offence committed in Parliament was punishable after the Session ended.

An adjournment was ordered until the twelfth of February, when the case, by a travesty of language, was "to be heard on its merits." Eliot was too ill to appear; but, like Holles and Valentine, he would not offer any plea to the charge, because denying its legality and the right of the Court to try them. This was twisted into a confession of fault, and judgment was at once given. They were to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure; Eliot in the Tower, and the others elsewhere. Submission, with security for good behaviour, might, it was hinted, obtain release; but only after Sir John, "as the greatest offender and ringleader," had paid a fine of two thousand pounds. Holles was to pay a thousand marks, and Valentine five hundred pounds. Selden was kept for several months in prison; and was then released under heavy recognisances and strict surveillance. Valentine and Strode were kept close prisoners for nearly eleven years, until the eve of the next Parliament in April, 1640. Holles contrived to escape, and exiled himself for seven years; but at last paid the fine. He afterwards said that his imprisonments and suits cost him at least ten thousand pounds. The others were released, after a time, without having made the required submission. The gloomy portals that closed upon Eliot never again opened for him. The rigorous imprisonment lasted, in all, forty-five months; in a cold and comfortless room. His health, never strong, broke down. He was racked with an incessant cough, and worn out with consumption. His friends, grudgingly allowed to visit and correspond with him at long intervals, petitioned for a change of air. The brutal reply of the sycophantic judges of the King's Bench was that "although Sir John be brought low in body, yet is he as high and lofty in mind as ever." His own petition to Charles was contumeliously rejected, with the remark that it was not humble enough. Eliot refused compliance, and a messenger bore to Whitehall, November 27, 1632, the welcome news that this unflinching patriot was no more. Eliot's

son asked leave of Charles for the interment to take place in the family vault in Cornwall. His callous, mean, relentless nature appears in the words endorsed by his own hand on the youth's petition :—"Let Sir John Eliot's body be buried in the Church of that parish where he died." So his honoured dust rests within the Tower precincts ; but his spirit haunted his persecutor's path, like Banquo's ghost. John Forster, his able biographer, truly says,—"No stone marks the spot where he lies ; but as long as Freedom continues in England he will not be without a monument." Eight years after the unknown grave closed over Eliot, the Long Parliament declared all the proceedings against him illegal ; and his sentence was solemnly pronounced by both Houses "contrary to law and to the freedom and privilege of Parliament." The records of the Court of King's Bench were brought into the House of Lords by a Writ of Error, and the judgment there entered against him was formally reversed. "Thus the whirligig of Time brings in its revenges." Like many a martyr in the cause of truth and liberty ; in dying, he triumphed. Absolute freedom of debate in the Legislature, for which he surrendered his life, was finally established beyond the possibility of cavilling or question ; and it has never since been disputed. It is not the least part of his renown that he waged a Parliamentary battle against the King and his father for fifteen years, and was immured for nearly four years, because he had the prescience to detect the trend of Charles's policy and the disasters that threatened the nation. He resembled the Swiss warrior who gathered into his own breast the spears of the adversaries ; and through the breach made by the sacrifice of his own life his countrymen entered ; to resume their ancient rightful possession ; so long withheld.

Eliot was far from being the first or the only victim of government by prerogative ; though he was the most conspicuous, and, perhaps, the most illustrious. As Sir Edward Coke lay dying, in September, 1634, having been laid aside for several years by age and infirmity, Charles sent a warrant to seal up all his papers. The reason assigned was, "For he is held too great an oracle among the people, and they may be misled by anything

that carries such an authority as all things doth that he either speaks or writes ; for the preservation of which the King thinks fit it should not come forth." His other papers in his chambers in the Inner Temple were also seized. These documents were retained until the Long Parliament ; when such of them as could be found were delivered to his son. In acting thus, the object of the King was not only to prevent publication, but to intimidate others. His efforts were futile. The men who resisted his arbitrary rule, and who refused to pay illegal imposts, were not to be silenced or cowed. They rendered services to posterity which can scarcely be overrated. The protest of patient endurance on the part of those who were prepared at great cost to suffer for the maintenance of public rights, was as needful as upholding them by learned arguments and moving eloquence. There were many such instances. The gaols all over the country were crowded with those who resisted the high-handed measures of the Court. In numberless cases, in defiance of law, brutal mercenary soldiers were again billeted in the houses of such as were not compliant. Tunnage and Poundage was rigorously exacted. Trade was at a stand ; especially the cloth trade ; and many thousands were thrown out of employment. Monopolies were granted or increased in the case of such common and necessary articles as salt, coal, iron, starch, wine, and scores of others ; to the enhancement of prices and the distress of the nation. Every housewife was perplexed and annoyed because good, honest soap that would wash was not to be obtained. Anticipating Sydney Smith's famous catalogue of universal taxation, Sir John Colepeper, or Culpepper, said in the Long Parliament, in November, 1640, in the attack on monopolists,—"These men, like the frogs of Egypt, have gotten possession of our dwellings, and we have scarce a room free from them. They sup in our cup ; they dip in our dish ; they sit by our fire. We find them in the dye-vat, the wash-bowls, and the powdering-tub. They share with the butler in his box ; they have marked and sealed us from head to foot ; and make by-laws which serve their turns to squeeze us and fill their purses."

Besides perpetuating and extending monopolies, com-

missions were instituted in the time of Charles I. for an endless variety of purposes. Escape from their grasping inquisition and their uncontrolled tyranny could only be purchased at heavy cost. Dormant powers of the Crown were strained to the utmost; solely for the purpose of extorting money. The Customs were farmed out, and the intermediaries made enormous profits. The Courts of Law were converted into instruments for exacting heavy fines on technical pretexts. Ancient forest rights which had long fallen into desuetude were re-asserted, with a view to replenish the Exchequer. Obsolete Statutes were revived and put into operation. Proclamations were declared, solely by the royal will, to have the force of law. One of these inflicted a fine of three years' rental for houses built in the suburbs of the metropolis. This yielded one hundred thousand pounds; but it permanently alienated the citizens. Another ordered the owners of country estates to retire to them; from a fear that liberal principles might spread by association in London. Proceedings were taken in the Star Chamber against all who disobeyed such arbitrary edicts. That Court, and its companion abomination, the High Commission Court, were incessantly engaged in forging fresh gags and fetters. Thousands of peaceable and orderly subjects were vexed and ruined by an open prostitution of justice. The ordinary tribunals were subordinated to the royal pleasure. The judges purchased their offices, and retained them by favour. Sir Charles Cæsar paid fifteen thousand pounds for the Mastership of the Rolls; besides a loan of two thousand to the King; who also received seventeen thousand from Sir Thomas Richardson for the Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas, and other sums for various appointments. Having bought their posts, they naturally sold their decisions; and corruption on the Bench produced corruption at the bar.

Among the Domestic Series of State Papers are numerous letters sent by Charles to the judges and to the law-officers of the Crown, on pending cases and on matters of procedure; seeking to know how their functions could be strained in order to establish his will and gratify his malevolence. The obsequious

replies also remain. When not compliant, they were visited with his displeasure. Chief Justice Carew was dismissed in 1626 for refusing to acknowledge the legality of Forced Loans. Chief Baron Walter was displaced in 1629 for alleged laxity in forcing attendance at militia musters; but really because he was not pliable enough in the matter of Tunnage and Poundage. In 1634, Chief Justice Heath, having quarrelled with Laud, and not proving himself sufficiently useful and docile for Court requirements—though these specific reasons were not then avowed—was removed from the Bench of the Common Pleas, and had to resume practice at the bar of the Court over which he formerly presided. He sought to avert the catastrophe by writing to Charles a letter; than which, suppleness and cringing could scarcely find a lower depth. Two years later, as a reward for his obsequiousness before the Council on matters of arbitrary taxation, he was taken into favour, made King's Sergeant, and, after several gradations of rank, became Chief Justice of the King's Bench. When the Civil War broke out, he fled into exile, and he died at Calais, in August, 1649. His successor, in 1634, was Speaker Finch; unscrupulous, arrogant, and time-serving; a useful tool, as infamous as Jeffreys in a later day; and presently made Lord Keeper as a reward for sycophancy and as an incitement to future slavishness.

Not only was the Bench thus overshadowed; but the Privy Council took the place of the Legislature. With a great show of following precedents, and with a rigid observance of legal phraseology, all persons and things were regulated at its pleasure, to an extent unknown even in the Tudor days. Charles gave to the sittings the sanction of his presence and authority; and directed the decisions with a lofty peremptoriness that rebuked all doubt and opposition, if such existed. He, in his turn, was ruled by Laud. Orders emanating from this secret and irresponsible conclave were treated with more respect than was shown to the Statutes or to the Common Law. Lord Keeper Finch, eager to justify the infamous reasons for his promotion, declared that while he held the Great Seal "no man should be so saucy as to dispute the orders of the Council, but that the wisdom of

that Board should always be ground enough for him to make a decree in Chancery." Accused persons were detained for many months without trial, and without any charge being formulated; in defiance of ancient constitutional rights. New jurisdictions were created; such as that of the Earl-Marshal, with far-reaching powers. This Court, as Clarendon says, "took upon it to fine and imprison the subjects, and to give great damages for matters which the law gave no damages for." But the greatest tyranny of all was exercised by the Council of the North, under Strafford, as narrated in the preceding Chapter. In the ecclesiastical domain, with frequent excursions into the region of domestic politics, he found zealous coöperation in Laud. A close correspondence was maintained between this congenial but unscrupulous pair, who were working on different lines towards a common end.

How Laud dealt with all who presumed to think and act for themselves in religious matters is largely written in painful incidents of the time. The saintly Alexander Leighton (1587-1644), father of the Archbishop of that name, was charged with the authorship of two books against Prelacy. He was flung by Laud into Newgate; loaded with fetters in a dark and loathsome dungeon, swarming with vermin; and debarred for fifteen weeks from communication with his family, or friends. He was fined ten thousand pounds by the Star Chamber. His house was ransacked and robbed, under pretence of searching for Jesuit books. His wife and children were coarsely insulted by pursuivants of the High Commission Court; before which, at length, when at the point of death through ill-treatment, with Laud sitting as one of the judges, he was subjected to the farce of another trial on the same charges. He was further ordered to be degraded from the ministry; to be twice publicly whipped and pilloried; to lose his ears and have his nose slit, in two instalments; to be branded in the face with the letters S. S. ("sower of sedition"); and then confined in the Fleet prison for life! While this revolting sentence was being pronounced, Laud removed his cap; and, at the close, gave thanks to God! The brutal punishment was carried out to the letter in

November, 1630, amidst a snow-storm, and under circumstances of atrocious barbarity. The sufferer would have languished in prison until the Day of Vengeance came, as many others did, but was fortunate enough to make his escape after a close incarceration for eight years in the Fleet.

The tyranny of the High Commission Court and of the Court of Star Chamber, both of which were used for the purpose of repressing public opinion, of enforcing the edicts of arbitrary government, and of levying illegal and exorbitant fines, largely contributed to the overthrow of the Church of England and of the monarchy. The processes of these two hateful tribunals have been already explained. They were developed to the full at this period. William Hudson, a barrister in the time of Charles I., wrote a treatise on Star Chamber procedure; in which he refers to "the slavish practice of whipping"; the "dangerous excess" and "exuberance of prerogative"; and the vexatious delay and expense to which innocent persons were put. The High Commission proceedings were peculiarly obnoxious. In it, as in all the Ecclesiastical Courts of the various dioceses, the officials could give nearly any interpretation they chose to what they were pleased to call the Common Law of the Church, as applied to any subject. The leading victims were popular clergyman of the Puritan party. They naturally resented the illegality of their treatment; as did all who admired their ministry. The usual method was for a secret information to be laid; and an oath was tendered to the accused, in the absence of accuser and of witnesses, pledging him to answer he knew not what. Refusal, or replies deemed unsatisfactory or evasive, entailed imprisonment until he yielded or died. The documents of the Court, still preserved among the State Papers, exhibit, in a form that would be grotesque if it were not so outrageous, the travesty and prostitution of justice. The case of Samuel Ward (1577–1639), of Ipswich, is typical of hundreds. A Master of Arts and Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, he was appointed town preacher by the Corporation of Ipswich. Laud's enforcement of new rites and ceremonies was regarded by him, in common with many others, as a

departure from the principles of the Reformation, and a retrograde movement towards the old hierarchical intolerance. He publicly protested; and was cited before the High Commission Court on November 13, 1634. After several appearances, forty articles were exhibited, and he was required to furnish specific answers. Many of the accusations were trivial and absurd. None of them involved any departure from the doctrinal Articles of the Church, or any reflection upon his character and conduct. He was charged, among other things, as if it were a heinous offence, with quoting in the pulpit the lines of the saintly George Herbert, from his poem of 'The Church Militant,' published in 1631,—"Religion stands on tiptoe in our land, ready to pass to th' American strand;" referring to the many devout patriots who had already made or were about to seek a home across the Atlantic. Isolated passages and phrases in extemporaneous and unreported discourses, supposed to be inimical to Laud and his policy, were adduced by witnesses who trusted to their memory over a period of several years. The case dragged slowly along for months, at enormous expense; and at length, on November 26, 1635, he was declared guilty. He was ordered to be suspended from his lectureship during the royal pleasure; "to make a public submission and recantation of his erroneous and scandalous opinions, with acknowledgment of equivocation in his answers"; to pay the costs of the suit; and to stand committed to prison in default of a bond and sureties for two hundred pounds.

William Prynne (1600–1669), a barrister, a man of vast constitutional lore; untiring in his industry; and the prolific writer of one hundred and ninety forgotten works, great and small, was another victim. Umbrage was taken at some strong remarks against stage-plays and masques, in a ponderous work—now wholly unreadable—under the title of 'Histriomastrix; or a Scourge for Stage Players.' Some of its criticisms were supposed to glance obliquely at the Queen, but its main object was to protest against the fashion, then beginning to be introduced from France, of actresses appearing on the Stage. Among all classes there was a strong prejudice on this subject; in the same way as the Romans,

according to Sallust, thought that no modest woman could excel in dancing and singing, as Fulvia is said to have done. The Puritans were not alone in condemning the Stage; nor was the war begun by them. Their real attitude is shown in the vivacious essay, 'Plays *v.* Puritans,' by Charles Kingsley; who exposes many current misconceptions concerning their spirit and conduct. During the latter half of the sixteenth century, Archbishop Parker, Bishop Babington of Worcester, with the author of 'The Mirrour for Magistrates,' and others at a later period, like Bishop Hall of Norwich and Jeremy Collier, none of whom had any sympathy with "precisians," uttered emphatic protests against the prevalent and scandalous immorality of many of the dramas; to which fuller reference is made in the sixty-first and sixty-fifth Chapters. Ben Jonson, in the preface to his 'Volpone,' tells in noble prose what he thought of the average playwrights of his age, and fully corroborates the complaints of the Puritans; whom he reviles in his 'Alchemist,' and in 'Bartholomew Fair,' and caricatures and traduces in later works written to please the low taste of his age.

Prynne also indulged in severe strictures upon other things. In his 'Unloveliness of Lovelocks,' he pours forth a flood of objurgation against a prevailing fashion among the courtiers, as if it were one of the Seven Deadly Sins, of wearing a long lock of hair flowing down upon their shoulders. His controversial spirit is not to be defended, unless on the plea that it universally prevailed. His temper, bearing, and language were most objectionable; he was intolerant, narrow, and bitter; though undoubtedly sincere. His style was dull beyond parallel. He was wholly devoid of humour, and had no more critical or imaginative faculty than the writer of a guide-book or the compiler of a Peerage. He was haled into the Star Chamber in 1633; fined three thousand pounds; ordered to be expelled from the University of Oxford and from Lincoln's Inn; to be degraded and for ever disqualified from practising as a barrister; to stand twice in the pillory; to be whipped and branded; to have both his ears cut off; and to be imprisoned for life! Four years later, he contrived in his prison to elude an

order forbidding the use of writing materials; and sent out fresh works in defence of his former volume. He was again subjected to a fine of five thousand pounds; to the pillory; to a further cropping of his ear-stumps; and to renewed and closer incarceration; with no access to friends, books, pens, ink, or paper. With Prynne were tried and punished, June 30, 1637, Robert Bastwick (1593–1649) and Henry Burton (1579–1648). The former was a physician, of Colchester, who had been immured for several years by the High Commission Court for what would now be regarded as a foolish, if a rude and an intemperate attack upon the prelates; of whom he said, in the exceedingly plain-spoken language of the day, that "Hell was broke loose; and the devils in surplices, hoods, copes, and rochets were come amongst us." While in prison, Bastwick wrote another book, vindicating his course; which brought him within the clutches of the Star Chamber. At the same time, Burton, clergyman of a church in Friday-street, London, was charged with preaching two seditious sermons, and with denouncing bishops as "robbers of souls, limbs of the Beast, and fautors of Antichrist." His real offence was his exposure of the dominant ecclesiastical party. Both of them were sentenced to similar ferocious punishment with Prynne. All three displayed much fortitude and heriosm. They were sent to remote and separate prisons; in Guernsey, Jersey, and the Scilly Isles; and kept in solitary and rigorous confinement. The wives of Bastwick and Burton, who had stood bravely by their husbands during the infliction of the torture, were not allowed to set foot on the islands. The prisoners were debarred the use of writing materials and books; "excepting the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and such other devotional books as are consonant to the Church of England;" a choice that sounds ironical.

John Lilburne, another victim, then only twenty years of age, but destined to make a noise in the world, was charged before the Star Chamber in 1637 with publishing and dispersing seditious pamphlets. He was condemned to be publicly whipped along the streets from the Fleet Prison to Palace Yard; to be there pilloried; and then imprisoned during pleasure. While he was being

scourged, and when on the pillory, he harangued the crowd against the tyranny of the Court and Church party. He was gagged during the rest of the punishment; and was then thrust, heavily ironed, into a dark dungeon, where, as he said, "the basest and meanest sort of prisoners used to be." There he remained for three years, nearly starved, as his friends were not allowed to visit him or to supply his wants. The Long Parliament released him and many others. It was then found that Lilburne was a troublesome man to authority of every kind; hopelessly afflicted with loquacity and with the *cacoethes scribendi*: lacking in judgment; an enthusiast without knowledge; bigoted and fanatical; and more than eccentric in his opinions. Yet no excuse can be offered for the horrible and cowardly treatment to which he was subjected. These are but a few instances out of hundreds that occurred during those eleven awful years of kingly, legal, military, and ecclesiastical despotism. Liberty lay hamstrung. Justice was a mockery; while yet the forms of law were scrupulously observed. As Tacitus remarks, usually, when the State is most corrupt, then the laws are most multiplied. Espionage was universal, and tyranny was rampant. Such proceedings tended to the overthrow of both the monarchy and the Church. When the summary and violent acts of the Long Parliament are censured, it must not be forgotten from what a crushing despotism that body rescued the nation. Unutterable wrongs were borne, because the confident expectation that a representative assembly must one day be convened acted like a Nepenthe. But the intensity of the hatred can be measured and justified only by the greatness of the outrages perpetrated in the sacred name of Law. The spirit that breathed through the prayer of the heroine, Judith, sustained those who waited and hoped for better days:—"For Thy power standeth not in multitude, nor Thy might in strong men; for Thou art a God of the afflicted; an helper of the oppressed; an upholder of the weak; a protector of the forlorn; a saviour of them that are without hope."

The plan tried on a small scale, in 1626, for equipping vessels, or raising the money-equivalent, was revived eight years later, in a comprehensive fashion. This was done,

like every other method of taxation then in force, on the sole authority of Charles, by Orders in Council. If the money had been applied to the avowed object, though no justification would thereby have arisen, yet some colourable excuse might have been presented. The funds were not so employed; but vanished among the insatiable harpies who had captured the administration. Pirates from Barbary, Morocco, and other places rode in insolent triumph through the English Channel, seizing merchant ships, and even swooping down upon and plundering villages along the coasts. Among others, no less a personage than Wentworth lost his baggage in 1633, by an attack from one of these pirates between Liverpool and Dublin. The unenviable notoriety of extending Ship-Money from its original area in the ports to places along the coast, attaches to William Noy (1577–1634), the Attorney-General; formerly on the popular side, but now a creature of the Court and its willing tool. According to Anthony Wood's satirical account, his heart, on dissection, "was found all shrivelled up, like a leather penny purse." Carlyle transfixes him as "a morose, amorphous, cynical Law-Pedant, and invincible living heap of learned rubbish." He died ere his advice could be enforced; but it was carried out yet more fully ere long; being applied to the inland counties, with unlooked-for results. As Rushworth records, so great was the popular hatred that the pasquinades of the day said his brain was reduced to a mass of dust; his heart was a bundle of old sheepskin writs; and his belly consisted of a barrel of soap; referring to one of the most irksome monopolies that prevailed. Clarendon admits that the plan was designed "for a spring and magazine that should have no bottom, and for an everlasting supply for all occasions."

The writs for Ship-Money were issued on October 20, 1634, and provoked universal opposition in the port-towns and maritime districts. They were rigorously enforced, but yielded only a little over one hundred thousand pounds. In the following August, the total sum demanded was double the former amount, or forty-five ships; or, in lieu thereof, contributions arbitrarily fixed at the rate of ten pounds per ton. A third issue

took place in August, 1636; a fourth in September, 1637; and one in each of the two following years. "The King's great business" was the title by which Ship-Money went among the Court party; aptly descriptive of the importance attached to it. Dilatory and recalcitrant sheriffs were summoned before the Council, and threatened for not collecting the arbitrary tax. No excuses were taken. When they pleaded that the chief constables, the overseers, and other local authorities refused to collect, they were peremptorily ordered to do it themselves. The Domestic Series of State Papers contain numerous letters showing that there were mute, inglorious Hampdens everywhere, who resisted the oppressive impost; though their names and the records alone testify what they suffered by distraint and imprisonment. In one of these (A.D. 1635, Vol. 285, No. 89) is an account, written on a sheet of foolscap, of the "extraordinary moneys" paid into the Exchequer during the previous ten years; amounting to nearly two millions and a half. Subsidies yielded only one-fourth of this sum. A like proportion was obtained from sales of lands and woods. Loans produced £290,365; "reprisal goods and tenths," £238,109; fines for not taking knighthood, £173,537; fines on leases, £115,445. The remainder was extorted in various illegal ways; not without occasional qualms of fear, arising from apprehensions of a day of reckoning.

In February, 1636, Charles addressed a letter to the twelve judges, propounding inquiries whether he might not command all his subjects to provide ships when the whole country was in danger; and whether he was not the sole judge thereof? Ten of the judges at once replied in the affirmative; and the other two, being in a small minority, were induced to concur for the sake of appearances. The injustice was aggravated, because this renewed attempt to levy the illegal tax was in flagrant violation of one of the clauses of the Petition of Right. By agreeing to this, he had renounced the usurped power of levying Ship-Money, even in the ports; yet he now imposed it of his mere will on large districts of the country, including many inland cities and towns. Refusals to pay were instantly visited with enormous fines

and prolonged imprisonment. Some of the victims appealed to the Courts of Law, but were denied a hearing. Among these was Richard Chambers, alderman and merchant of London. Untamed by fines and incarceration—once for six years—in the matter of Tunnage and Poundage, he appealed in June, 1636, on the question of legal right in the levy of Ship-Money; but the judges refused to have this argued. One of them, Berkeley, had the insolence and the baseness to say from the Bench that there was a rule of law and a rule of government, and that many things might be done by the latter which could not be done by the former. He was impeached for this when the day of retribution came, and was arrested on the judgment-seat, February 14, 1641; to the astonishment of the beholders.

A whole nation could not be thus coerced. The gaols would not have been spacious enough to receive the recusants, including prominent men of high character and good social position, who were determined, after careful search into legal precedents, to contest the legality of the impost. Among them were Lord Saye and Sele, and, more notably, John Hampden; representative of an ancient Bucks family, a former member of Parliament, cousin to Cromwell, and the friend of Eliot and guardian of his children. To silence or ignore such a man was impossible. He had already suffered for his principles, and in defence of popular rights, in the matter of the Forced Loan of 1627. He again stood forth to maintain them. The county of Bucks was assessed at a ship of four hundred and fifty tons, or, as an equivalent, four thousand five hundred pounds. Hampden's share of this was trifling; for his assessment, was only twenty shillings for one parish, and thirty-one and sixpence for another; but he refused to pay on principle; risking the heavy charges and the certain danger of a contest with the Court. Burke asked, in his great speech on American Taxation,—"Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No! but the payment of half twenty shillings, on the principle it was demanded, would have made him a slave." The point at issue was simple; but vital. If money could be levied to-day

on the mere will of the King and his Council for one object, it might be levied to-morrow for any other object. The result would be the imposition of taxes, not by the chosen representatives in Parliament, as provided by the ancient constitution of the realm, but by an irresponsible nominated body.

The appeal was heard in November, 1637, in the Exchequer Chamber, before all the twelve judges. That renowned lawyer, Oliver St. John, ably argued the case for Hampden. His speech occupied three days; and a like space was filled by his learned colleagues, as fully detailed in Rushworth. The replies of counsel for the Crown, with quibbles and objections on both sides, and the comments of the judges, protracted the proceedings to three weeks and a half. The Court took four months to consider its judgment; which was given in support of the Writ by seven to five; two of these being against it on technical grounds, and three on the merits of the case. The latter risked their places; but they dared not go in the face of the law and of precedent, which were manifestly in favour of Hampden. Clarendon condemns the judgment in unqualified terms, and says that the damage and mischief caused thereby to the Crown cannot be expressed. On the other hand, Strafford's arrogance and malice appear in his letters to Laud:—"In good faith, were such men rightly served, they should be whipped into their right wits." Again he says, "I still wish Mr. Hampden, and others to his likeness, were well whipped into their right senses. And if the rod be so used that it smart not, I am the more sorry." He wrote, also, with reference to a recorded semi-official opinion of the judges that the tax was consonant to the laws of the realm, that this was "the greatest service the legal profession had done the Crown in his time;" but, he added, "unless his Majesty hath the like power declared to raise a land army upon the same exigent of State, the Crown seems to me to stand but upon one leg at home, to be considerable but by halves to foreign princes."

Some victories are much worse than defeats; as the Court party speedily learned. Contemporary writers agree that from the time when the judges supported

the arbitrary levying of Ship-Money, and refused the Habeas Corpus to Eliot and others, public feeling in the country inclined to decided resistance. One other act of insensate folly was committed, by the issue of a Proclamation, April 30, 1637, forbidding any persons to leave for the American Colonies without a license, and without having first taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and, further, without a certificate of conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. There had been considerable emigration for several years, owing to civil oppression and religious persecution; and this was the spiteful measure adopted on the part of the narrow-minded faction then ruling in Church and State. But the story that Cromwell, Hampden, and others were thus prevented from leaving in 1638, after they had made arrangements to embark, does not rest upon adequate authority. Cromwell is said to have declared, four years later, that his continued residence in England depended on the adoption of the Grand Remonstrance, and that its rejection would have driven him and others to seek a home in America. How the noblest Puritans felt may be seen from Milton's monody of 'Lycidas,' written about this time. Its gentle strains of lamentation are suddenly arrested by a burst of righteous anger at those who "for their bellies' sake, creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold;" to whom "the hungry sheep look up and are not fed"; while Rome's "grim wolf with privy paw daily devours apace, and nothing said." It was fortunate for Milton that the censor was not acute enough to discern these allusions to Laud; or the writer would assuredly have experienced the fate of Prynne and others. His great epic did not escape at a later day.

In this way the Period of Pause and Reaction, reckoning from the introduction of Kingcraft by James I., came to an end; and was followed by an attempt at Idealism.

Period X.—IDEALISM.

A.D. 1640–1658.

Chapter.

54.—The Long Parliament.

55.—The Grand Remonstrance, and the Arrest of the Five Members.

56.—Church Questions.

57.—The Commonwealth.

58.—The Uncrowned King.

CHAPTER LIV.

THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

A.D. 1640.

THE cup of iniquity was filling; soon to give place to a cup of vengeance. Eleven years of despotism through satraps and venal judges, were surely doing their work. Representation in Parliament had been ruthlessly thrust aside. Royal edicts superseded the Statutes. The threefold tyranny of the Privy Council, of the Star Chamber, and of the High Commission Court had been enforced by martial law. Temporary success entailed permanent disaster; but this came from an unlooked-for direction. Attempts made by James I. to force Episcopacy upon Scotland, with a view to extend the royal authority, signally failed. Laud, the chief instrument, had not learned wisdom from experience. He never abandoned the project; but urged Charles to renew it, as an assertion of prerogative, and with the ulterior purpose of effecting doctrinal and ritual conformity to the Church of England. Once more the insane task was essayed in 1633, when Charles paid a visit to his Northern kingdom. He was crowned in Edinburgh on the eighteenth of June, and met the Scottish Parliament. The inevitable question of religion arose. His adherents submitted two Bills; one relating to his prerogative and to clerical apparel, acknowledging his regal right to determine this; and the other, to various measures touching religion, and intended to confirm all the Acts whereby the Kirk had been attacked and set aside in favour of Episcopacy. When the first Bill was about to be put, Charles was present, and tried to intimidate the members by taking from his pocket a paper; saying,—"Gentlemen, I have all your names here, and I will know who will do me service this day, and who will not." The vote was against the measure; but a false return was entered, under his instructions. The members protested in vain; but the insult and scandal were never forgotten.

He also created a new bishopric in Edinburgh; making fourteen prelates in all, in a country that hated them.

The Episcopal preachers were treated with derision. Laud, who was called a Priest of Baal, and a Son of Belial, seized every occasion to affront the Kirk and its ministers. He was bent upon introducing the English Liturgy; with all the millinery, and upholstery, and other sacerdotal stage properties so precious in his eyes, and so fashionable at Court. Charles departed from Scotland on the first of July; leaving written instructions as to the forms and ceremonies to be observed in the Chapel Royal, and intended as a pattern for all the churches. A High Commission Court was also created. The introduction of the new Service Book—deemed little better than the Mass—in Greyfriars Church and in the High Church, Edinburgh, four years afterwards, led to popular outbreaks that ended in tumult and riot; the bishop escaping with difficulty from personal violence. The tradition of Jenny Geddes flinging her cutty-stool at the dean's head, is as veritable, in its later embellished forms, as that popularly told of William Tell and the apple. The flame spread; and Scotland was in a blaze. Opposition made Charles and Laud more obstinate. As time went on, they persisted in their mad endeavours to thrust the Liturgy upon the people; who, on their side, were as resolute not to accept it under any circumstances. A Book of Canons was issued by royal decree; imposing new ceremonies and regulations, and treating the Scottish Kirk simply as a branch of the civil administration.

Robert Baillie (1599–1662) gives, in his 'Journals and Letters,' a description of scenes of which he was an eye-witness. One clergyman having preached in defence of the Liturgy, was assailed in the street at night by some hundreds of enraged women, of all qualities, with fists, staves, and peats; but no stones. "They beat him sore. His cloak, ruff, and hat were rent; and he was in great danger even of killing." Another, "would not be counselled to forbear the Service Book for a time, but on the Sunday went to the pulpit with his pistols, and his servants with weapons. He entered early, when there were a few people; closed the doors, and read the service; but, when he had done, he could scarce get to his house. All flocked about him; and, had he not fled, he might have been killed. He durst never try that play over

again." The Bishop of Galloway was very unpopular, and had several narrow escapes from violence. At Falkirk, "the wives railed, and stoned him with stones; and were some of them punished. Also at Dalkeith, the wives so railed upon him that two of them were put in prison." One such Sunday in July, 1637, was long known as Stony Sabbath. Many such vivid portrayals are given by Baillie. He was a Presbyterian minister of Kilwinning, in the West of Scotland; a solid, observant, learned, resolute man, of copious loquacity, which poured itself forth in an endless stream of letters, written to his Presbytery and to his family. One of his daughters was grandmother to Lord Kames. He was appointed to attend the Scots Commissioners as chaplain; and eventually accompanied them to London, where he was deputed a second time, as a member of the Westminster Assembly. After his return, he was chosen as Principal of Glasgow University, in which he had been Professor of Divinity. Describing the opposing armies encamped near Berwick in the Summer of 1639, he states the point at issue with Charles and his followers:—"They might see now that before we would be roasted with a slow fire, by the hands of Churchmen who kept themselves far aback from the same, we were resolved to make a bolt through the reek, and try to get a grip of some of those who had first kindled the fire, and still laid fuel to it; and try if we could cast them in the midst of it, to taste if that heat was pleasant when it came near their own skins."

Another prominent clerical leader of the Scots was Samuel Rutherford (1600-1661); the devout writer of letters which still maintain some renown, and author of the phrase, "Glory dwelleth in Immanuel's land," which forms the refrain of a popular hymn by Anne Ross Cousin. Deprived of his ministerial office at Anwoth, in Galloway, because of his opposition to Episcopacy, he was banished to Aberdeen; where, afterwards, he became Principal of the College. He, too, was delegated to the Westminster Assembly, and took an active part during four years in its deliberations. Among other ministers associated with him and Baillie was Andrew Cant; whose name has come to be used in a Pharisaical and hypo-

critical sense, to which his personal character was alien. The great body of the Scots sided with their clergy. Repeated Proclamations, denouncing them and enforcing Episcopacy, were disobeyed and ridiculed. Finally, in February, 1638, following the example set by John Knox, and repeated more than once since his day, a great National Covenant was solemnly entered into by the majority of the peers, landowners, clergy, magistrates and councils of nearly all the burghs, with the great body of the people, for the maintenance of the Reformed Religion, and for resisting to the death all Romish innovations. The Covenanters are imagined by many as a crowd of poor, illiterate, blue-bonneted ploughmen and shepherds; enthusiastic, but fanatical; led by a few crack-brained preachers typified by Habakkuk Mucklewrath and Gabriel Kettledrummle, in 'Old Mortality.' Instead of this, they were the mass of the community, of all ranks, and in all districts, who swore to each other, in the name of God, that they would continue in the obedience and discipline of the Kirk, and defend the same, according to their vocation and power, all the days of their lives. It was a noble Confession; but the attempts to enforce it upon others, as was the case with the later Solemn League and Covenant, were as objectionable as other religious tests. If the terms of this famous document now sound intolerant, the critical circumstances and the peculiar opinions of the times must be remembered. Moreover, while the Covenanters were intent upon upholding the religion and laws of their native country, so dear to the overwhelming majority of its people, the policy of Charles was destructive both to liberty of worship and to civil freedom.

To the narrow Stuart mind, the Covenant appeared nothing less than wicked rebellion, which must be put down instantly, and at any cost; just as George III. regarded the American colonists' resistance to arbitrary taxation. As usual, the King and his advisers would yield nothing; nor would they recede one iota from their preposterous demands. With a blindness that seemed judicial, they would not perceive that the ecclesiastical innovations were impossible in the existing temper of the Scottish nation. Attempts were made to break

up the adherents of the Covenant by cajolery, bribes, and threats. The General Assembly met, for the first time for twenty years, November 21, 1638, and refused to disband when ordered, until Episcopacy was again abolished. To effect this, and to restore Presbyterianism, it adopted a number of measures during a month of sittings. On the royal side, Proclamations were issued, offering pardon to all who renounced the Covenant; while those who continued refractory were declared to be "rebels, stubborn, and disobedient"; with whom the King "would use all the forcible means with which God hath armed royal authority." Meanwhile, preparations were being pushed forward to raise an army, chiefly of Walloons and Irish, and other mercenaries; making, as Milton says, "a national war of a surplice-brabble and tippet-scuffle." The Scots, on their side, were not idle. The national spirit was aroused. Volunteers trooped in from all sides. Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and other castles were placed in a state of defence. Weapons and munitions of war were collected. All ranks and ages, and both sexes, freely contributed in the hour of the nation's peril.

In the presence of such determination, and knowing that many of his own supporters could not be relied on, Charles reluctantly consented to a compromise. He thought, as Carlyle puts it, "that the rising up of a million men, to assert that they were verily men with souls, and not automatons with wires, was some loud-sounding pettiness; some intrigue; to be dealt with by intriguing." What he really felt and intended appears from his letter to the Archbishop of St. Andrew's:— "You may rest secure that, though perhaps we may give way for the present to that which may be both prejudicial to the Church and our own government, yet we shall not leave thinking in time how to remedy both." The only possible remedy involved a course that he hated. Yet some of his advisers were urging its adoption. The Exchequer was exhausted. Absolutism had reached its limits, after eleven years of unrestricted exercise. Notwithstanding the judgment given for the Crown in the case of Hampden, Ship-Money was paid with reluctance, and in many cases was refused.

The bitter alternative was to summon a Parliament. The suggestion was made, not out of regard to popular rights, so long trampled upon, but as the only practicable way of raising troops for the purpose of depriving Scotland of her liberties. After much hesitancy, and with great reluctance, the Privy Council advised this course; with an added resolution:—"That should the Parliament refuse to comply with the royal request, or prove peevish, the Council will assist his Majesty in extraordinary ways." Strafford, Laud, Finch, Heath, and their fellow-conspirators must have recognised the hopelessness of the situation, before consenting to an assembly that meant political and physical extinction to themselves; unless, indeed, they could manipulate the gathering for their own purposes.

Charles was present on the opening day, April 13, 1640; but left the speaking to Lord Keeper Finch, who showed himself as ignorant of propriety as of law. In the stilted and pedantic fashion of the time—by no means confined to the Puritans, as is ignorantly supposed—his speech abounded in Scriptural, classical, and figurative allusions:—"His Majesty's kingly resolutions are seated in the ark of his sacred breast, and it were a presumption of too high a nature for any Uzzah uncalled to touch it; yet the King is now pleased to lay by the shining beams of majesty, as Phœbus did to Phæton, that the distance between sovereignty and subjection should not bar you from that filial freedom of access to his person and councils. Only let us beware how, like the son of Clymene, we aim not at the guiding of the chariot, as if that were the only testimony of fatherly affection; and let us remember that, though the King sometimes lays by the beams and rays of majesty, he never lays by majesty itself." The entire address was couched in this turgid and bombastic vein. Speeches, sermons, and literature in that day were weighted down with ornate references to Æolus or Orpheus, to the Hesperides or Ixion's wheel, to Aphrodite or Prometheus; the application being forced, not infrequently to a ludicrous degree.

Coming down to more prosaic themes, after scattering these faded flowers of rhetoric, the conduct of the Scots

was stigmatized by Finch as "most horribly rebellious"; for "they had taken up arms against the Lord's Anointed." Impending charges were great; but the royal coffers were drained, and they must be replenished forthwith. All the taxes levied since the last Parliament had, "like vapours exhaled from the earth, returned to it in refreshing showers." In the matter of Tunnage and Poundage, the King had only followed the example of his predecessors, who collected it from their accession until it was conferred upon them by law; and he only desired it as a free gift. Present exigencies would not allow of delay, and therefore he expected an immediate Supply. There was no need for talk over this; however "other matters which promised benefit might endure debate"; and he pledged his royal word to give them time for other business afterwards. The members knew too well the value of the royal word. They at once applied themselves, not to the coveted Supply, but to an inquiry into the state of the nation. Harbottle Grimston, member for Colchester, broke the ice by saying bluntly that, bad as a Scottish invasion might be, the invasion of the liberties of the subject were nearer and more dangerous. One member after another narrated the grievances which the people in their districts had borne for so many years, and how numbers had been ruined and had died in prison. Pym, who took, as of right, the leadership, reviewed the whole position in a masterly, argumentative, moderate speech of two hours. He set forth, with methodical accuracy and with accumulated force, the wrongs of the nation. The records of the King's Bench and the Star Chamber Courts were sent for. Notice was given for an inquiry into the conduct of Finch, as Speaker of the last Parliament, in 1629. The Court faction was alarmed; and the speeches of some of its members were highly injudicious and exasperating. After five days of such ominous debates, Finch again addressed the Legislature in the presence of Charles; stating that his honour was engaged to put down the "rebellion" in Scotland; that it would cost one hundred thousand pounds a month; and that the money must be forthcoming immediately.

Serenely resolute, the Commons proceeded with the

pressing duty. They said that until the liberties of the House and Kingdom were cleared, they knew not whether they had anything to give or not. They resolved to do nothing that would set a dangerous example to posterity. On the second of May, another and yet more imperative royal message was sent; the burden still being, "Money! Money!" Two days later came an intimation that Charles would be content with twelve Subsidies, or about £840,000; payable in three years. In return, he would agree to a law abolishing Ship-Money. He would also give as much time as possible for other business, and would convene them again at Michaelmas. But he insisted on an instant answer and on full compliance. The message was debated all day. Clearly, it meant that if Subsidies were secured for three years, no Parliament need meet during that period. The proposal to repeal by law the impost of Ship-Money, implied a right to levy it; which they denied. Nor would they ignobly purchase what they claimed as an inheritance. If Grievances were not then discussed and remedied, no other opportunity might arise for eleven years more. Like Tantalus, they had been mocked and disappointed too often. There were other utterances of a similar kind, and the debate was adjourned. Before it could be resumed the Legislature was dissolved; only twenty-three days after it first met; and with emphatic expressions of anger and disappointment on the part of Charles.

Convocation remained sitting: a questionable act of legality, though done by order of the King. He was gratified by a Benevolence of twenty thousand pounds being voted by the clergy for six years. Sundry new Canons were adopted; partly relating to ceremonies; but chiefly designed to bolster up the regal authority. One of them, which was ordered to be read four times a year in churches, declared that "the most high and sacred order of Kings is of Divine Right." For "subjects to bear arms against their kings, offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever," was, "at the least, to resist the powers which are ordained of God"; and such would "receive to themselves damnation." No legislative sanction was given to this verbal thunder. Laud's

object was to strengthen his own hands, by upholding those of the man from whom his power and influence were derived A further means to this was the imposition of an oath upon all clergymen, graduates, proctors, schoolmasters, and others; approving the doctrine and discipline of the Church, as containing all things necessary to salvation; and declaring that "I will not endeavour, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in Popish doctrine, nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c., as it stands now established." This came to be known and ridiculed as the Etcetera oath. People asked whether they were to swear perpetual adherence to a hierarchy, the details of which the framers of the oath were unable or unwilling to specify? The oath turned the laugh against Laud. Multitudes refused it; alleging that it was illegal. That a scheme like this should have been devised in the throes of a struggle for national existence, proves how the dangers of the situation failed to be realized by the men who were driving the ship of State upon the rocks.

As soon as Parliament was dissolved, a Proclamation was issued, as usual, with pedantic regard for verbal forms and outward proprieties, justifying the step, and upholding the royal absolutism. Three members of the House of Commons were imprisoned; one of them being John Crew, the Chairman of the Committee on Religion, who was sent to the Tower for refusing to surrender the petitions with which he was entrusted. Two other members, Sir John Hotham and Henry Bellasys, were interrogated about their speeches in the House on military matters; but refused to answer, and were committed to prison. Four aldermen of London were also incarcerated for refusing to raise in the City a Forced Loan of three hundred thousand pounds. Riots broke out; Laud and Strafford were openly denounced; and when some of the rioters were apprehended, the prisons were broken into and they were released. This occurred on the fourteenth of May; and on the following day the three members and the aldermen were set free. The houses and papers of Lords Saye and Brooke, of Pym, Hampden, and Sir Robert Erle, were searched, in the

hope of finding incriminating evidence of their having corresponded with the Scots. Nothing was discovered; and no further steps were taken.

To revert to the old methods of raising funds seemed impossible; yet something had to be done. Ship-Money and other illegal levies were again tried; but yielded little. The East India Company was asked to assign, as a loan, the proceeds of spices imported; but declined. Genoese and other foreign money-lenders were approached; but the security offered was deemed inadequate. Charles's royal brother-in-law of France would not help. An attempt was ineffectually made to borrow from the King of Spain. There was a general sense of the insecurity of property. The mercenary troops were on the eve of mutiny for arrears of pay. In some districts they displayed open insubordination, and committed acts of violence and robbery. Strafford is said, on inconclusive evidence, to have boasted that he would bring over a large force from Ireland to put down disaffection; but he failed, if, indeed, such a plan was ever seriously contemplated, and was not mere bluster. The rumour of the project rapidly spread. Whether true or not, it was commonly believed, and was regarded as an unpardonable atrocity on his part.

The Scots crossed the Tweed; defeated the forces sent against them; and advanced as far as Newcastle-on-Tyne, which they captured, August 29, 1640, with the royal magazine and supplies. Thence they issued a manifesto, stating the reasons for their action, and appealing to the patriotism and Protestantism of the English. They remained in the Northern counties for more than a year. Thus, instead of the Scottish movement being crushed, it spread into the South. The country was agitated and alarmed. The Council was at a deadlock. When an informal assembly of Peers was convened at York by writs, like the Great Councils of Norman and Plantagenet times, they said that the only way out of the difficulty was to call another Parliament. Most reluctantly this was done in the Autumn. Extraordinary efforts were made to secure a majority for the King, by means of political, clerical, and social influence; but in vain. Warned by the tactics of the Court, and by the experience

of the Short Parliament, the patriot party were on the alert. There was much riding to and fro throughout England in the Autumn of 1640, with a view to concerted action. Pym and Hampden were prominent in thus visiting persons of influence, in order that good and true representatives might be returned in the crisis. Public meetings were unknown. Newspapers did not exist. Postal communication was scanty and uncertain. So the only way was for men like Pym and Hampden to boot and saddle, and ride about the country. Berkshire is said to have been lost to the royal cause through a gross and opprobrious epithet hurled at Henry Marten by the King, when passing him in Hyde Park in a carriage; in revenge for the way in which the Court party had been assailed in the Short Parliament of 1640 by the shafts of Marten's wit and raillery.

On the third of November, 1640—a day to be had in everlasting remembrance—the Long Parliament assembled; to remain in almost perpetual Session until forcibly dissolved by Cromwell, on April 20, 1653; having first undergone the rough surgery of Pride's Purge. During its protracted and eventful course, it rose to heights of grandeur and heroism and sunk to depths of meanness and contempt. It bound kings with chains, and nobles with fetters of iron. It broke the arm of the oppressor, and set the captives free. At the outset, it was eminently conservative in its detestation of the changes in laws, customs, and religion which had been forced upon the country. Then it became the sport of factions and the instrument of injustice. After resisting and overthrowing regal tyranny, it set up one of its own. Yet, in spite of all mistakes and crimes, the Long Parliament is invested with undying renown. Milton has given, in the eighth section of his 'Apology for Smectymnuus,' a glowing description and vindication of this illustrious assembly in its earlier years; setting forth the character, standing, abilities, and patriotism of its members; with the noble work which they accomplished. No Legislative body has been the theme for more virulent criticism or more enthusiastic defence. It is useless to attempt to justify all that was said and done. Strong reasons make strong

actions. A Battle of Armageddon was fought; on constitutional lines, at the outset, and with strict adherence to legal forms; but afterwards, and unavoidably, with sword and musket. Lamentable excesses were sometimes committed; but the blame attaches to those whose misrule provoked resistance. Free discussion had been forbidden; but it burst forth into a very Babel. An oligarchy tried conclusions with the people, and encountered dire disaster. By a stroke of the pen, civil rights, more dear than life, had been abrogated; only to be asserted with increased vigour. The Church had ranged itself on the side of despotism; and it was overthrown with its ally. The crux of the dispute was whether the monarch existed for the people or the people for the monarch. Charles maintained the latter. He risked his all upon one throw of cogged dice; and lost the game. If he had won, how much would English liberties be worth now?

Details of the proceedings of the Long Parliament are copiously supplied in its 'History,' by Thomas May; in the 'Collections' of John Rushworth, the Clerk-Assistant; in the 'Memorials' of Bulstrode Whitelocke, which, however, seems to have been issued as a bookseller's speculation, founded on some rough notes by Whitelocke, eked out with newspaper scraps and rumours; in the 'Diary' of Sir Symonds D'Ewes; in the Domestic Series of State Papers of the period; and in the voluminous collections by John Thurloe, Secretary of State during the Commonwealth. In faded and crabbed characters, written day by day at the time, is presented, as in vivid panorama, the march of stirring events. The volumes, tracts, and pamphlets concerning it, with the mass of news-sheets, sermons, plays, poems, broadsides, and pasquinades, numbering more than thirty thousand, known as the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum, ranging from the Long Parliament to the Restoration, but mostly unedited and uncatalogued, form a huge body of literature; even after innumerable issues have passed into oblivion or have become wholly lost. The 'Somers Tracts' contain reprints of controversial pamphlets on both sides; with parodies and burlesques directed against the Parliament and its adherents by the

Cavaliers. The character of the latter may be judged of from one travesty, entitled,—'The New Testament of our Lords and Saviours, the House of Commons,' and the Supreme Council at Windsor. Newly translated out of their own Heathenish Greek Ordinances, with their former Proceedings, diligently compared and revised, and appointed to be read in all Conventicles.'

Parliament usually assembled at eight o'clock in the morning. Late comers were fined one shilling. From the outset, the attendance was large. The appearance and bearing of the members showed that they were resolved to face the grave crisis with all seriousness and determination. It was not, as ignorant persons suppose, a gathering of political adventurers, of social nonentities, of religious fanatics, or of village boors. It comprised the flower of the English gentry, of the commercial classes, and of the legal profession; men of birth, estate, and education; most of them being in the prime and vigour of life. Some, if unknown beyond the localities whence they came, were destined to become famous. Three-fifths of them had been in the short-lived assembly that met in the Spring; and the recollection of its proceedings taught them that no partial or timid measures would avail, and that no verbal compact would be kept by their faithless monarch. Clarendon says that "the same men who, six months before, were observed to be of very moderate tempers, and to wish that gentle remedies might be applied, talked now in another dialect both of kings and persons, and said that they must now be of another temper than they were the last Parliament." It is always thus; like the story of the Sibylline Leaves. Eleven years of terrorism, and prior years of outrageous misrule, had accumulated a debt, repayment of which was demanded with usury.

The Peers summoned were one hundred and twenty-four, and the twenty-six prelates. Rushworth gives five hundred and four as the members of the House of Commons; and Carlyle has compiled an approximately correct alphabetical list. It includes familiar historic names, like John Pym, John Hampden, John Selden, Sir Harry Vane, Edward Hyde—afterwards Earl of Clarendon—Edward Waller the poet, Sir Samuel Luke

—supposed to be the original of Butler's 'Hudibras'—William Lenthall, the Speaker, and Oliver Cromwell, who sat for the town of Cambridge, instead of for Huntingdon, as formerly. He was well-known in the Fen-district as a sturdy advocate of Puritan opinions. He was related to Hampden, Waller, and St. John; and was highly esteemed by many in the House for his upright, consistent, resolute character; though Sir Philip Warwick, and other sticklers for the sartorial proprieties, were scandalized by his "plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor." Thus he appeared to the astonished courtier-eyes of Warwick, who failed to penetrate beneath the surface of things. In like manner, Aristophanes probably dwelt on the accidents, and not on the essentials, when he accused Cleon with having an intolerably loud voice, and with smelling of the tanyard. To do Warwick justice, he had the discernment and the courage to give a more appreciative description subsequently. Cromwell's house-steward, John Maidstone, has left a memorable delineation in a long letter to Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut; printed by Thurloe and by Carlyle.

On the opening day, after the customary didactic and classical exhortations by Charles and by Finch, to which no heed was given, two Committees were appointed by the Commons; one for an examination into the procedure of the loathed Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission; and the other for an inquiry into Grievances. The question of religion was one of the foremost; especially Laud's hated innovations. It must be borne in mind, as Clarendon says, that all the members belonged to the Established Church. Long-suppressed complaints burst forth, like impetuous mountain torrents that had been dammed up. Pym, Hampden, and others recited old tales of wrong; with recent additions and aggravations. Sir Harbottle Grimston, smarting under the recollection of prison experiences for resistance to a Forced Loan, somewhat petulantly asked,—"What good have our complaints or petitions ever done? The judges have overthrown the law, and the bishops religion." He was speedily led to adopt a different tone; as he realized the strength

of his colleagues. Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton were sent for from their distant island-gaols, where they had been immured ; the first for seven years, and the others for three ; without visitors, books, or writing materials. At the end of November, they were escorted into London by an immense concourse of people, wearing sprigs of rosemary in their hats. Laud, and those who acted with him in inflicting the barbarous sentences, were declared liable to pay six thousand pounds compensation to Prynne, and five thousand each to Bastwick and Burton. Leighton's case was also considered ; and the sentences of all four were reversed. Other political prisoners were brought forth out of the dark, damp, and filthy dungeons where they had been thrust for months and years ; and where not a few of the sufferers had perished. A strong resolution was passed against Monoplies, and four members were expelled for participating in them.

No time was lost in attacking the two prime authors of the wrongs. Pym moved, on the seventh of November, for a Committee to inquire into the public dangers. Evidently, the intention was that the impeachment of Strafford should be preceded by a searching investigation ; as in the case of Buckingham. His acts were notorious and flagrant. Three whole kingdoms were his accusers. Two days later, he arrived from Ireland. With his usual boldness, he advised Charles to anticipate the threatened blow, by accusing the Parliamentary leaders of treasonable correspondence with the Scots. The advice was so far followed that steps were taken to resume control of the Tower, by dismissing the garrison, and substituting troops who could be relied on, so as to ensure the safe custody of Pym and other intended prisoners. But the plot was divulged. The mere rumour was enough. As soon as it reached the House, Pym moved that the doors be locked ; and then, in secret Session, it was swiftly resolved that a Select Committee be appointed at once to formulate a charge of high treason. It was a master-stroke of policy, denoting profound capacity as well as undaunted courage on the part of Pym, thus to arraign Strafford at the outset, and at the very time when he was seeking to

crush his opponents. If they had not struck him down, he would have had them seized, and would not have shrunk from any consequences. Within a few minutes, the form of impeachment was brought in, and at once agreed to. No word of it was permitted to leak out through the locked doors until Pym, accompanied by a crowd of members, went forth through the corridor to the Upper House, carrying the formal charge; with an added demand that Strafford should be ordered into custody, to await his trial. If he had been suffered to remain at large and to use his influence with the King, a dissolution might be sprung at any moment; followed by a resort to force, and further developments of his policy of Thorough. Tidings of the counter-move reached him in Whitehall Palace. He instantly left the King; saying, with his customary high spirit, that he would face his enemies. He entered the House of Lords with imperious bearing; flashing haughty and angry glances around. Proceeding towards his seat, he was told, to his intense astonishment and mortification, to withdraw while the House considered the method of procedure. He was then called in, and, on his knees at the bar, listened to the charge and the committal to the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms. The terrible Grand Vizier of Government by Prerogative went away to the Tower, a fallen man; none doing him reverence; as Milton says,—"Of regal port, but faded splendour wan."

A similar course of Impeachment was pursued with Laud. Proceedings were also initiated against Secretary Windebank and Lord Keeper Finch; both of whom fled the country. The Court faction in the House dared not openly resist these proposals. Out of doors, men breathed freely for the first time for nearly a generation. The two chief delinquents who had ruled so iniquitously and with such a high hand, were struck down by the might of outraged justice. Robert Baillie has left a description of Strafford's trial; extending over seventeen days; with the clever and desperate fight he made for life. Baillie saw and heard it all; and he furnishes minute details of a scene that finds a parallel only in the trial of Warren Hastings, one hundred and forty seven years afterwards.

Westminster Hall was crowded during those March and April days in 1641 with Peers, and Parliament men, and privileged auditors; eager and excited; fearful of losing their seats, which they had to secure by five in the morning; refreshing themselves with bread and meat, "bottles of beer and wine going thick from mouth to mouth, without cups." The King was present, day by day, in mufti; a space being partitioned off with lattice-work, which he tore down in his eagerness to listen. The Articles of Accusation were exhibited; discussed; wrangled over; excepted to; and sustained one by one. Witnesses were called in support. The great culprit, driven to bay, seized upon every possible objection, and contested the legal grounds, inch by inch, with a courage and a dexterity that even his enemies admired. His final speech extended over two hours and a half, and made a profound impression; especially that part where, after a pause, and with tears in his eyes, he referred to "those pledges a saint in Heaven has left me." It was said at the time that the speech was an adaptation of one of Ralegh's. A scandalous gloss is put by Baillie upon the notable reference to the sainted wife. Anyway, the effect was marvellous. In the end the mode of procedure was changed from Impeachment to Bill of Attainder, whereby the Commons possessed an equal jurisdiction and shared in the decision. Technical difficulties had arisen as to whether Strafford's conduct was treason, under the Statute of Edward III., seeing that his conduct had been sanctioned by Charles, though the moral guilt was unquestionable. Pym and Hampden were opposed to the change, but it was carried, and the Bill passed through its stages in both Houses, and received the royal assent, to the eternal infamy of Charles.

Long before the fatal end was reached, it had been unanimously resolved by both Houses that the obnoxious Canons lately passed by Convocation had no binding force on either clergy or laity, in the absence of Parliamentary confirmation. Ship-Money was voted illegal, and all proceedings relating to it were annulled. The judges and officials who had enforced it were required to give security to appear, to answer any charges. They were declared liable in damages to the injured parties;

were impeached, and, subsequently, disqualified from acting as judges; "as though they were dead." Both Houses passed resolutions that, for the future, judicial appointments should be for life; instead of during the royal pleasure. The farmers of the Customs, in order to avoid criminal proceedings, promptly offered to compound for their rapacity; and deemed themselves fortunate in escaping by the payment of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. Malet, one of the newly-appointed judges of the King's Bench, refusing to recognise the votes of Parliament on the Militia and against the Royal Commission of Array, was arrested in November, 1642, in open Court, at Kingston Assizes, amidst the wondering admiration of the spectators, and sent to the Tower for two years; as Berkeley, another of the judges, had been publicly removed from the Bench, on February 14, 1641, on an Impeachment for his arbitrary and illegal conduct in the matter of Ship-Money. One vexatious use of the royal power was stopped by enacting that Parliament was indissoluble except with its own consent. This made it not only independent of the Crown, which was a necessity under the circumstances, but also irresponsible to its constituents; and can only be excused under the apprehension of an attack upon it by an armed force. To render it impossible for such an interval again to occur between meetings of the Legislature as had been the case during the long period of despotic rule, the Triennial Act was passed in February, 1641. It provided that a Parliament should meet at least once in three years, and that the Sheriffs should hold elections if writs were not issued. The Act was rendered inoperative by the continued sitting of the Long Parliament. It was repealed in 1664, under a threat from Charles II. Thirty years later, it was re-enacted; but was again set aside by the Septennial Act in 1716.

Charles I. reluctantly assented to or tacitly concurred in these measures; because he was powerless to resist. He did something far worse, and showed himself to be a poltroon, as well as a tyrant. Though he had assured Strafford, when commanding his presence in London at the opening of Parliament, that not a hair of his head

should be touched, and though he had written to him, two days after the passing of the Bill of Attainder, "on the true word of a King," that he should "not suffer in life, honour, or fortunes," he was cowardly and selfish enough to assent to the Bill, and permitted the execution on May 12, 1641. He had none of Strafford's intrepidity; nor did he possess common gratitude for the splendid but unscrupulous services rendered during twelve years. He sought in vain from councillors, judges, and bishops some excuse for abandoning Strafford, and for lulling his own conscience. Strafford wrote a letter from the Tower, full of chivalry and pathos; entreating him to consent to the Bill as a choice of evils. If anything were needed, beyond the ample testimony already given, to reveal the selfish nature of Charles, it is furnished in permitting such an act of self-sacrifice. In one of his confidential communications with Laud, Strafford said, —"We have the misfortune to serve a gracious prince that knows not how to be or to be made great."

Henceforth, the course of Charles was rapidly and irretrievably downwards. By deserting and betraying his ablest Minister, he ruined himself; although it is useless to speculate whether ruin could have been averted, even if Strafford had lived. Painting, poetry, and rhetorical descriptions have thrown a glamour around his haughty demeanour and skilful defence at his trial, in spite of illness from long attacks of gout; and also around the proud dignity and the unflinching courage displayed at his execution. But the memory of his abandonment of the popular cause, and especially the recollection of the way in which he sold himself to work evil courses for such a man as Charles, and of the conspicuous part taken by him during those long years of tyranny, can never be effaced. Not until November, 1643, was his associate in despotism tried by the House of Lords; and he, too, was beheaded, after another delay, on January, 10, 1645. Laud's execution was a mistake. All his schemes had failed. The prerogative which he had striven to uphold was gone. The hierarchy was proscribed, and the Liturgy abolished. His power and influence had long ceased; and, from a modern point of view, it seems that he might have been

suffered to linger out in obscurity and disgrace the short remainder of his life; the more so as his condemnation was effected by the exercise of a power in Parliament as arbitrary as the King had shown. The only excuse is that, to the men of that day, Laud was the incarnation of tyranny and fanaticism. By his cruelty he had made too many enemies to hope to escape. Charles's agents were wrecked upon the same rock. They tried to shift their responsibility upon him, by urging that they acted under his direct orders. Parliament held to the old legal maxim, that the King can do no wrong, and his advisers must therefore be accountable. This doctrine is a main pillar of the English Constitution; and its application in this form was one of the grandest discoveries in the theory of government. Heretofore, it had been used, not to protect the indispensable sanctity of the royal character, but to protect the wrong-doers who acted under the monarch. Charles I. constantly maintained the irresponsibility of his Ministers. The logical consequence was to fix responsibility upon himself; and this led to his own trial and execution.

CHAPTER LV.

THE GRAND REMONSTRANCE, AND THE ARREST OF THE FIVE MEMBERS.

A.D. 1641–1643.

Concurrently with Strafford's trial, the Star Chamber, the High Commission Court, the Council of the North, and other illegal or tyrannical judicatures were abolished. Consistorial Courts were deprived of their coercive powers; which had been used to worry and ruin all who opposed Laud's innovations. Decisive steps were thus taken towards reclaiming English liberties. Charles I. was constrained to assent, because of financial exigencies. A grant of Tunnage and Poundage was made for a fixed period, on the usual scale of three shillings on every tun of wine, and five per cent. on the value of all goods im-

ported ; with a proviso that the penalties of Præmunire should attach to any who exacted Customs' duties other than those paid from the time of Edward III. to that of Mary. The levy of fines for declining knighthood was declared illegal. Forest boundaries were curtailed and determined. The troops were disbanded, as threatening the public safety ; consisting as they did largely of mercenaries. All these proceedings were strictly based on precedents ; and they restored ancient rights that had been filched away. The condition of Ireland caused much anxiety. The English and Scotch settlers, known as the Plantation of Ulster, had behaved scandalously towards the natives. Horrible atrocities were committed in the Protestant Massacre of 1641, and numbers are said to have been murdered. Froude thinks the lowest computation of thirty-seven thousand too large. Unhappily, it is only one instance out of many of blind vengeance being wreaked by a people brutalized by a long course of oppression. It is an awful story. Chaos reigned for eight years, until Cromwell appeared on the scene.

After the capture of Newcastle in 1640, the Scots renewed negotiations for the redress of national grievances. Charles dallied ; but promised nothing. Commissioners on both sides met at Ripon on the first of October, and the Scots agreed to accept eight hundred and fifty pounds a day for two months, for their expenses, and to hold the two Northern counties as security, pending a settlement of their demands. The King's hope of a breach between the two nations vanished ; but he proposed to visit Scotland, as a means of regaining there the authority he had lost in England, and of promoting a counter-revolution. Contrary to the wishes of Parliament, he set forth, August 10, 1641, followed by a Joint Committee of both Houses ; ostensibly out of respect. It was feared that he had ulterior views of winning the Scots over to his side, and employing them forcibly against England. Both he and the Queen were plotting for the arrest of the Scottish leaders ; for armed intervention from the Continent ; and for the exercise of the spiritual powers of the Pope upon Roman Catholics in England. To guard against such dangers, another Parliamentary Committee was appointed to sit in London and watch over

public affairs. The most important duty undertaken by the Legislature, on resuming, was the introduction of the Grand Remonstrance; so called because it embodied the complaints made in a long series of similar documents from 1625 to 1629; with a recital of the misgovernment of the eleven subsequent years. It was an appeal to the nation; and was intended as a final manifesto and protest against regal absolutism and misrule in Church and State. Charles sent imperative orders from Edinburgh to stop the discussion. His friends in the House did their best; but were powerless.

Introduced on November 8, this constitutional monument, embracing two hundred and six clauses, and occupying thirteen closely-printed folio pages in Rushworth, was keenly discussed for eleven days. It was then adopted by the narrow majority of eleven in a House of three hundred and seven, after a heated sitting that lasted until the unusual hour of two in the morning, and seemed likely to end in personal conflicts, if not in actual bloodshed, over a demand by Hyde and others to enter a protest on the Journals. "We had catched at each other's locks," wrote Sir Philip Warwick, "and sheathed our swords in each other's bowels, had not the great sagacity and great calmness of Mr. Hampden, by a short speech prevented it." The minority included some who, while condemning the action of the King, could not then believe, what the force of circumstances convinced them of before long, in his falseness and despotism. Others thought that the Lords should be asked to concur; or they deprecated the introduction of Church questions; or they imagined the Remonstrance went too far; or they objected to its being circulated broadcast; or they still clung to the hope of a settlement. Clarendon admits that the narrative part of the Remonstrance was true, and moderately expressed. This memorable State Paper speaks for itself, and is both a history and a programme of policy; justifying the course pursued by the patriot party, as is shown in the monograph by John Forster. The wisdom and statesmanship of its authors are demonstrated by their demands being substantially embodied in the Revolution Settlement of 1688. It was the only Catholicon in those troublous times.

There was, however, no common ground of agreement for the construction of a workable scheme. Charles would not recede from what he believed to be his inalienable rights. An illimitable royal power was supposed to be immediately derived from the Divine will, in a way that human reason could not comprehend, and might not question or resist. Charles abandoned nothing; he forgot nothing; and he learned nothing. The Grand Remonstrance was presented to him on the first of December, with a petition setting forth in strong terms the two chief demands on which all the others depended; namely, that the prelates should be deprived of temporal power, and their spiritual authority restrained; and that Recusants and Malignants should be banished from the royal councils. He finessed and quibbled; but at length promised a speedy answer; requesting meanwhile that publication might be deferred. Three weeks elapsed, and it was found that he was devising plans to overawe Parliament; such as removing the trained bands that formed its guard, and substituting royal body troops, desperadoes and adventurers in his pay; dismissing the Lieutenant of the Tower, in whom the House had confidence, and appointing a creature of his own; filling the highest offices from the ranks of the Court party; intriguing with known trimmers, to win them over; and talking as loudly as ever about his prerogative. His perfidy was so notorious that it was impossible to trust him. The Commons therefore ordered the printing of the Remonstrance for the public information. In order to neutralize the effect of this appeal to Demos, an answer was drafted by Hyde, in the King's name. All the points at issue were evaded; the evils were explained away or minimized; a false gloss was placed upon notorious facts; and Charles was made to assert his dignity and to stand upon his absolute rights. Nothing came of it. The breach was widening into an impassable gulf. He seemed bent on provoking a quarrel, if only he could fasten the responsibility on the Commons. Clarendon admits that public confidence might have been restored, if moderate counsels had prevailed on the part of the King.

Two days before the close of the year 1641, Williams, newly-created Archbishop of York, withdrew from the

Upper House with eleven prelates, on a pretence that they were menaced by tumultuous crowds; and protested against all legislation in their absence. The lay Peers concurred with the Commons in regarding this as an infraction of Parliamentary privilege. The bishops, who had been already impeached for illegal acts in Convocation, were lodged in the Tower on a charge of endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm. A few weeks later, February 5, 1642, the Lords accepted a Bill depriving the prelates of their places in Parliament. To the astonishment alike of friends and foes, the royal assent was given; for Charles was powerless. He had struggled and buffeted: only to be swept along by a resistless tide. Henceforth, the bishops, as a body, disappear for twenty years. "Those who hate bishops," said Lord Falkland, "hate them worse than the devil; and they who love them do not love them as well as their dinner." It must be remembered that these legislators were not sectaries, nor were many of them Presbyterians at that time. They were Episcopalians, intent on a reformation of the formularies of their Church. The Commons agreed that after November, 5, 1643, its existing government by prelates and others should cease; because it was alleged to be a great hindrance to the growth of religion and to the welfare of the realm. Three years before, on December 6, 1640, Alderman Pennington had presented the famous Root-and-Branch Petition, said to be signed by fifteen hundred persons in and around London, alleging that the rule of archbishops, bishops, and deans had proved prejudicial and very dangerous both to the Church and to the Commonwealth, and praying that it might be abolished, "with all its dependencies, roots, and branches." Episcopacy was felt to be politically mischievous because of its close identification with kingly absolutism, and because of the active share taken by many of the clergy, who used their pulpits to deliver political sermons. It was, therefore, at length abolished; with what effects will appear in the next Chapter.

Charles had been secretly preparing, without consulting his advisers, what he regarded as an effectual counterstroke; not so secretly, however, as to escape the notice

of the Commons, who took measures against surprise. Was there no one to warn him that Atropos stood by with her fateful shears? His Attorney-General, Herbert, went before the House of Lords, January 3, 1642, and in his name accused Pym, Hampden, Strode, Holles, Haselrig, and Lord Kimbolton of high treason; mainly because of their part in the Grand Remonstrance, and in retaliation for the fall of Strafford, Laud, and others; but imitations and counterfeits seldom succeed. The attempt was also designed to prevent a dreaded impeachment of the Queen, for her meddling in Army plots and in the Irish plot, and for her negotiations with the Pope to secure his influence with English Catholics on behalf of her husband's absolutism. Her mother, Mary de' Medici, exiled from France for intriguing against Richelieu, had been residing in St. James' Palace for three years, until the preceding August, when she was bribed with ten thousand pounds to depart; after receiving three thousand a month during her long stay. Her influence was most pernicious. She had all the dominating, jealous, and unscrupulous character of her family; and was suspected, but without proof, of having been privy to the murder of her husband, the great Henry of Navarre. The daughter profited too well by her mother's instructions. At her instigation Charles struck a blow that recoiled upon himself. Royal messengers went to the houses of the accused members, and sealed up their books and papers, which the House instantly voted a breach of privilege, and also declared the Articles of Impeachment "a scandalous paper." In concert with the Lords, the seals were ordered to be broken, and the persons arrested who affixed them. Even the Court members were speechless, and could not defend the action.

A sergeant-at-arms appeared at the bar in the royal name to demand the accused. An answer was sent that the matter was being considered, and that the five members—Lord Kimbolton being a Peer—should be ready to answer any legal charges. During the night, measures were devised by Charles to forestall the action of Parliament, and to strike a final and crushing blow at English liberties. He resolved to go to the House in the morning, with his hired bravoes—delineated in Ben Jonson's

epigram, 'To Captain Hungry'—to arrest the Five Members. Prudence would have dictated their seizure at home ; but he never possessed prudence before an event. Moreover, he had convinced himself that they were traitors ; that their capture in public would inspire dismay ; and that the House must yield to his demand. D'Ewes and other eye-witnesses have left descriptions of the unparalleled scene ; which forms the subject of one of John Forster's books. That the episode was both a blunder and a crime appeared from the eager attempts of the King and his adherents to explain away the natural construction. His course was illegal in every way. The proper mode of procedure was by indictment before a Grand Jury. No subject can be arrested by a monarch in person, or under any charge, except by due process of law. The maxim laid down to Edward IV. by Chief Justice Markham is indisputable:—"A subject may arrest for treason ; but the King cannot ; for, if the arrest be illegal, the party hath no remedy against the King." Charles had been so accustomed to set himself above law that this gross infraction and defiance would have been nothing to him, if only he had succeeded. It was not a mere error of judgment, or a sudden impulse ; but the act was deliberately planned and executed, and it proved fatal to his cause. To trust him afterwards would have been madness. Some whose loyalty had made them hesitate, could do so no longer.

As if to leave no room for doubt respecting his intentions, he went into the City at nine the next morning, still hoping to effect the arrest of the Five Members, who were known to be in a friendly house in Coleman-street. He was greeted with cries of "Privilege!" and returned to Whitehall baffled and resentful. The Commons resolved to meet as a Grand Committee, under the protection of the citizens, in the Guildhall, "so as to be free from armed violence." The attempted arrest was voted a breach of Parliamentary privilege and of the liberty of the subject. Those taking part in it were declared to be enemies of the Commonwealth. Proclamations which had been issued for the arrest were pronounced "false, scandalous, and illegal." The implicated members were ordered to attend the Grand Committee

on Monday, the tenth of January. As a guard for Hampden, four thousand squires and freeholders rode up from Bucks. The citizens of London—then, and for long afterwards, the stout champions of liberty—volunteered an escort; as did the mariners of the port. In commemoration of the patriotic service rendered in this crisis by the City, its members always take their seats on the Treasury bench on the opening day of a new Parliament. A trusty officer was appointed to the command of the City trained bands. Volunteers were forthcoming in thousands from London; which also provided horses, money, and plate. Technically, this was levying war, and was an invasion of the royal prerogative; and all sharing in the act were liable to a charge of high treason. But in such a crisis, when the safety of the nation and the existence of society were at stake, parchment pedantry could not avail. Charles left Whitehall for Hampton Court, and thence repaired to Windsor. He saw the palace no more until he was conducted from it to the scaffold. Queen Henrietta fled to Holland with the Crown jewels, which she pawned for two millions sterling; and the money was used by her husband for carrying on war against his subjects. He sent word that he withdrew the impeachment of the Five Members, whose return to Westminster was an ovation; and said that he would proceed against them "in an unquestionable way." The House waited for twenty days; asking twice for particulars of the charges, which he then abandoned altogether, and offered a general pardon. It was claimed that the accused should be cleared personally, and that the names of those who had advised the arrest should be divulged. Charles remained silent; so a Bill was passed, acquitting and exonerating the members; without any concern about the empty form of obtaining the royal assent. The Attorney-General was impeached for his share in the transaction.

By this rapid series of events, the order and connection of which must be strictly observed, open conflict between the King and the Legislature became inevitable. Charles threw down his gage of battle, and the Commons took it up. They could do no other. The mad act of attempting the arrest by force cost him his crown, and, ultimately,

his life. He had passed the Rubicon, and could never retrace his steps. For sixteen years he had violated the fundamental laws of England, and broken the compact by which alone kingship and obedience mutually exist. To talk of a nation "rebelling" under such circumstances is an abuse of language. In a struggle for national existence, abstract theories must yield to the stern logic of facts. Revolutions, like hurricanes, are terrible, and do not regard logical sequence or accidents of position; but if one was ever justified by its causes and objects, it was the one initiated by Eliot, Coke, Pym, and Hampden, and completed by Cromwell, and which has Milton for its exponent and poet. Such men, and not mere titular persons, were the true leaders of England. Their acts were not always faultless, but they did their best in the emergency, and deserve well of their country. Open hostilities did not at once break out. Each side was busy for more than six months making active preparations. The Tower of London, and fortified places like Hull and Portsmouth, were secured by the Parliament, which possessed, and retained during the contest, the advantage in numbers, in financial resources, in better management, and, above all, in zeal springing out of religious enthusiasm in the cause of liberty.

Charles was chiefly at Newmarket during the Spring of 1642. There was a semblance of negotiations, with a view to an adjustment of difficulties, and to prevent open warfare. He refused to treat; and especially to surrender the control of the militia. "No! not for an hour!" said he; on the instigation of his wife. Hence the arbitrament of the sword had to be appealed to, in order to ensure the ultimate peace of the country. The Earl of Essex (1592–1646), son of Queen Elizabeth's favourite, was named general of the Parliamentary forces, because of his social position, and because of the military renown won during his service as a volunteer in Germany in the Thirty Years' War. Like most professional soldiers, he was tied by rule and system, and failed to understand non-professional but patriotic enthusiasm. Hence he was unjustly accused of apathy, if not of treachery, to the popular cause. Charles summoned the minority of the Lords and Commons who adhered to him. Only one

hundred and eighteen of the latter obeyed the call. More than three hundred remained at Westminster. A majority of the Peers did not join him until later, and many of them cherished a hope of moderating the strife. When they came, he treated his Mongrel Parliament, as he styled it, with an indifference that was almost contemptuous, because their support was not unconditional. Prior to this he raised his standard at Nottingham, August 22, 1642. The sword was drawn, and the scabbard thrown away. Upon him rests the responsibility.

Then ensued, for nearly nine years, the horrors of internecine strife. It was commonly styled *Bellum Episcopale;* as had been the case with the one in Scotland for enforcing Prelacy. On the side of the King were enlisted most of the nobles and gentry, with their immediate tenants and dependents; known as the Cavalier party. On the side of the Parliament were ranged the majority of the townspeople, yeomen-farmers, and free peasantry, with about thirty lords, and some of the landed gentry who belonged to ancient families. The Navy was also on its side. The sailors were sons and grandsons of those who repelled the Armada. A line drawn from Scarborough to Southampton roughly defines the geographical area of the two sides. The Eastern portion, including London, was with the Parliament; the other portion, excepting a few towns like Bristol and Gloucester, was with the King. Bunyan's 'Holy War' is the best account extant of the armies that fought in this contest; in which he took a part, although, strange to say, it is not known on which side. The grouping and the colouring of incidents and characters bear the impress of his peculiar idiosyncrasy, and have regard to the special design of his allegory. Numerous skirmishes, and some great battles and sieges, took place. Much blood was spilt, and much damage was done to property. Yet people married and were given in marriage, as usual; the ceremony being still performed in the churches; and the ordinary affairs of business, agricultural, and domestic life went on, with only transient and local interruptions. There was nothing of the savagery and destruction that marked the Wars of the Roses. Milton sublimely says:

"During the mighty struggle, no anarchy, no licentiousness was seen; no illusions of glory; no extravagant emulation of the ancients inflamed them with a thirst for ideal liberty; but the rectitude of their lives and the sobriety of their habits taught them the only true and safe road to real liberty, and they took up arms only to defend the sanctity of the laws and the rights of conscience."

This agrees with the testimony of after years, when it was a subject of common remark that if an artisan, or a small shopkeeper, or a farmer, was conspicuous among his neighbours for industry, thrift, sobriety, and uprightness, it was almost certain that he had served in the army of the Commonwealth. Like Cincinnatus, they returned to the plough, to their handicrafts, or to their shops, when their services were no longer needed in the field; just as the million and more of citizen-soldiers resumed their ordinary avocations at the close of the Civil War in the United States in 1865. None of the victories of the Commonwealth Army were so great and glorious as the victory over itself in its final disbandment; for the main body is not to be held responsible for the intrigues of the officers and of those who had become professional soldiers prior to the Stuart Restoration. Notably was this the case among those who were renowned as Cromwell's Ironsides. That far-seeing and eminently practical man was led to conclude, by what appeared to be the half-heartedness of generals like Lords Essex and Manchester, and by the indecisive nature of the earlier encounters, that "decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind of base and mean fellows," were not likely to win the day for the popular cause. He once wrote,—"Truly I think he that prays and preaches best will fight best." He therefore set himself to "raise such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did." This was done in concert with his friend and cousin Hampden, as he afterwards explained in one of his speeches to Parliament, April 13, 1657; adding,—"From that day forward they were never beaten, and wherever they engaged against the enemy they beat continually."

The volunteers whom Cromwell trained and led were

irresistible in attack, and like a wall of adamant in defence. Their character and conduct were worthy of their illustrious chief; of their discipline; and of their heroic courage. They were devoted to him, as the Tenth Legion was to Cæsar, or the Old Guard to Napoleon. They were largely drawn from the Eastern Counties, where many thousands of exiles from the Netherlands had sought refuge in the sixteenth century from the Spanish Fury; and whence so many Puritans had gone forth since 1620 to colonize New England. They left their homes, their farms, their handicrafts, and devoted themselves as a matter of patriotism and religion to the task of saving their country from despotism and Popery. If they were addicted to hearing, and some of them to preaching, long sermons, such a monomania was not confined to their day or class; and it was assuredly preferable to drunkenness and profligacy. Swearing was not heard in their ranks. Lewdness and violence were unknown. They paid for what they consumed on the march, and were patterns of order and of morality. They displayed towards their fellow-citizens none of the swaggering truculence of the Roman Prætorian Guards. Rare exceptions only proved the rule; and these were visited with swift and condign punishment. Buckle (ii. 154-9) gives an interesting account of the origin and pursuits of a number of the prominent Commonwealth officers, and contrasts them with their contemporaries in the War of the Fronde (1648–1653), during the minority of Louis XIV. The letters of Nehemiah Wharton ('Archæologia,' xxxv.), furnish graphic sketches, from the pen of a subaltern, of the Army under the Earl of Essex in 1642; illustrative of incidents occurring on the march. They rival in weirdness the pictures drawn by Butler, in 'Hudibras,' which are frequently mistaken for caricature.

Charges of Vandalism and of wanton destruction, brought against Cromwell in after times, are grossly exaggerated, and, in not a few instances, are wholly untrue. He is usually described as a universal iconoclast, and as being almost ubiquitous. In a time of such commotion, buildings and property are sure to suffer from both parties. Exigencies of warfare sweep aside all other considerations. Moreover, the simple, stern piety that

scorns as gewgaws and idolatry what other minds, differently constituted or trained, value as outward decorous forms of the Beauty of Holiness, was sometimes moved to destroy images and symbols inseparably associated with the hated tyranny in Church and State, which it was resolute to break down and sweep away. But if the Cromwellian soldiers defaced altars and images, and despised what they regarded as the mere trappings and excrescences of worship, they respected women and children, which the boasted chivalry of the Cavaliers often failed to do. After making all allowances, and remembering the spoliation by bishops and deans in earlier times, and the gross neglect of many of the custodians of public edifices, the chief blame for wanton destruction and for brutal violence rests, not with the Parliamentarians, whatever they may have done, but with the Royalists, especially with the coarse, roystering, vindictive Prince Rupert of Bavaria, the King's nephew, a scented libertine and titled bandit, who was commonly called Prince Robber, and the Prince of Plunderers. His dash and animal boldness, and the false halo that surrounds his buccaneering raids, have blinded many to his real character. Even his own party severely censured him and his mercenaries. He acted with great indiscretion, if not like a traitor, in surrendering Bristol in 1645, and he and his hired followers thought chiefly of plunder, in the pursuit of which the fortune of war was more than once turned at a critical moment.

The first collision was at the battle of Edgehill, near Banbury, October 23, 1642. Both sides claimed the victory; but of four thousand left dead on the field, most were Royalists. The other side held its ground that night and the next day. During the Winter and early Summer there were several local encounters; but no decisive blow was struck. In one of them, a mere skirmish, June 17, 1643, when Rupert broke out of Oxford on one of his marauding expeditions, Hampden was mortally wounded on Chalgrove Field, near Thame, and reached home only to die. The loss of this intrepid, judicious, upright, and truly noble man was a sore blow to the patriot party. Before the end of the year, another heavy loss was sustained in the death of Pym, on the eighth of December.

He was only fifty-nine years of age, but was worn out by his great labours and by the incessant strain of anxiety; though he battled against premature infirmities, and remained at his post until the last. Bold and fearless; prompt in emergencies; incorruptible and unswerving; a master of Parliamentary forms; cogent in reasoning, and able to arouse and direct strong feeling, he was unrivalled in the House, and exerted a marvellous sway in the country. In an eminent degree it was his "the applause of listening Senates to command." The name of King Pym, given by the Cavaliers, while it expressed their hatred, was a testimony to his power. The dread with which he was regarded was shown by more than one attempt at assassination, and by a dastardly expedient of sending to him in the House of Commons a letter containing a rag from a plague-wound, in the hope that he might take the infection. While his colleagues mourned their heavy loss, the Cavalier party rejoiced with indecent exultation. Bonfires were lit, and bells were rung, and there were high carousings. It would have been of advantage to their cause had his life been prolonged, with his constitutional knowledge and wise counsels, just as it would have been of advantage to France in her great Revolution if Mirabeau had been spared. Only eleven weeks before Pym's death, the amiable, accomplished, but fastidious Viscount Falkland passed away. Wearied with the strife; blaming both sides; yet clinging to Charles; and with a genuine love for England, he found a soldier's death in the Battle of Newbury, September 20, 1643, at the early age of thirty-three.

The expenditure on both sides during the Civil War was necessarily heavy. Money was raised with difficulty, and in irregular ways that occasionally degenerated into violence and plunder. Cavaliers and Parliamentarians helped themselves when emergencies arose and as occasion offered. Church-plate, and that from the Universities, went into the melting-pot on behalf of the Royalists. Cromwell is said to have managed to divert from Cambridge in aid of the Parliament some twenty thousand pounds' worth, designed for the royal coffers. The adherents of Charles often impoverished and ruined themselves; only to be forgotten or flouted after the

Restoration. Taxes levied by him during the War were illegal; being imposed solely by his authority. In practice, it amounted to a seizure by his adherents of what they chose. The property of his supporters was frequently sequestrated by the other side; which also made frequent levies. The Excise, or tax upon food, drink, and other commodities, had long been practised successfully in Holland. Pym has the credit of its introduction into England in 1643. Imports from the American Colonies, with Exports thither, were exempted from taxation. Imposed at first for a limited time, and on a restricted list of articles, and chiefly upon liquors, the Excise was perpetuated and extended at the Restoration. Though always unpopular, it has ever since remained an important factor in taxation and revenue. In 1657, an offer to farm the Customs and Excise duties for eleven hundred thousand pounds was declined. Another plan of raising money was by a monthly levy, ranging, according to necessity, from thirty-five to a hundred and twenty thousand pounds, and imposed primarily on land. A tax equal to the value of one meal in each week was also levied; yielding about one hundred thousand pounds per annum.

During the interval between the outbreak of the Civil War and the formal proclamation of a Commonwealth, the ancient routine of administration was swept away; such as the Privy Council, the Exchequer, the Court of Wards, the Court of Requests, and the Prerogative Court; with such great officers as the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the Secretaries of State. Some of the titles remained among the royal adherents, but the functions were nominal. Instead thereof, the administration was vested in Committees appointed by Parliament, in addition to the Council of State; including Committees for the Advance of Money, for Accounts, for the Army and Navy, for Sequestrations, for Compounding, for the Sale of Crown Lands, for the Mint, for Revenue, for Plundered Ministers, and for other purposes. Most of the records of their proceedings are still intact among the State Papers; and abstracts are being published in the Calendars. Their extent may be judged of from the one instance of the Committee for

Compounding with Delinquents, as those were termed who took the Royalist side, and also Papists or Recusants. This was done to avoid the delay, the expense, and the waste of sequestration. Precedents were found in the sweeping confiscation of the estates of alleged traitors under a long line of monarchs, and in the heavy fines imposed upon Roman Catholics under the Recusancy Laws; so that the procedure, however arbitrary and regrettable, was not peculiar to the Commonwealth. The original orders and papers of this one Committee fill two hundred and fifty volumes, chiefly folio, averaging more than a thousand pages each. From 1644 to 1652 the sums actually paid by Royalists for composition amounted to £1,304,057; or nearly six millions in value of modern money. There was much suffering, and not a little injustice. Jobbery and robbery too often prevailed among the officials; human nature, with its tendency to selfishness, being the same under any form of government. Unfortunately, abuses and wrongs are the usual accompaniments of such strife, and they formed part of the price that had to be paid for emancipating the country from Stuart absolutism.

CHAPTER LVI.

CHURCH QUESTIONS.

A.D. 1641–1647.

Ecclesiastical subjects formed an important element in the controversies of the seventeenth century. Romanists, Anglicans, Puritans, Presbyterians, and the minor sects, waged a battle-royal. They were ardently and disputatiously religious, and spent much time contending in a jungle of metaphysics. It almost realized the satirical description of the Eastern Church of the fourth century, given by Gregory of Nyssa, who says that knots of people at the street-corners of Constantinople were eagerly discussing incomprehensibilities; and money-lenders and shopkeepers were similarly employed in the market.

place. There appears nothing to choose among these passionate contenders for dogmatic supremacy. Joseph Hall (1574–1656), Bishop of Norwich, has been styled, somewhat extravagantly, the English Seneca. Pope, no mean judge, affirms his earlier compositions to be the best poetry and the truest satire in the English language. His fame rests, however, on his 'Contemplations,' and on other devotional writings; more than on his controversial works, like that published in January, 1641,—'An Humble Remonstrance for Liturgy and Episcopacy'; addressed to the High Court of Parliament. He maintained, in the least offensive tone and manner, the Divine Right of Episcopacy. Its origin was also the theme of a work by Archbishop Ussher. A reply to Hall, contending that free prayer was the practice of the Early Church; that no genuine Liturgy can be traced beyond the second century; and that primitive bishops were only presbyters, appeared under the clumsy pseudonym of Smectymnuus; formed of the initials of five Puritan clergymen. Hall sent forth a rejoinder; and other writers plunged into the wordy fray. The only matter of abiding interest is that it called forth the earliest of John Milton's contentious writings, in 1641; entitled, 'Animadversions on the Remonstrant's Defence'; followed in 1642 by 'An Apology for Smectymnuus.' In both of these, he gores and mangles his opponent with a ferocity that can only be explained by his burning hatred of superstition, formality, and despotism; by the unhappy style of disputation then almost universal; and by the personal attacks which Hall had made in his second work. Milton's thesis, like that uniformly maintained by the Puritans, was that the European Reformation begun by Luther had been arrested in England at a point far less advanced than the one reached in other countries; and that, in consequence, England had ever since been struggling under a nightmare, which incapacitated her for the full and free exercise of her strength.

Milton was then thirty-three years of age (1608–1674). A youth of diligent study had been marked by the production of some of his elegant lighter poetry and masques, rivalling Ben Jonson's; such as 'L'Allegro,' 'Il Penseroso,' 'Arcades,' and 'Comus'; all of which show the

intellectual and moral grandeur of Puritanism. Then followed an extended Continental tour ; during which he made the acquaintance of renowned scholars like Grotius ; steeped himself in the beauties of the Renaissance at Florence and Rome ; and enriched his own classical attainments. He drank deeply at the Pierian spring, as he did at the Biblical fount. While at Florence, he saw Galileo , then seventy-four years old, blind, poor, and contemned ; yet finding pleasure in expounding his astronomical theories and in reciting his nervous, flowing, elegant poetry to distinguished travellers, and especially to young men. Pathetic interest attaches to such an interview ; and to the unanticipated similarity of a sightless old age in the case of Milton. He was about to proceed to Greece, which had special attractions for his cultured intellect, when "the melancholy intelligence of civil commotions in England made me alter my purpose ; for I thought it base to be travelling for amusement abroad while my fellow-citizens were fighting for liberty at home." There he found a hireling clergy, a fettered Press, a tyrannical Church, and a misgoverned people. He quitted his calmer and more congenial occupations, "to embark in a sea of noises and harsh disputes." He threw himself into the argumentative contest, and became the most conspicuous literary actor in the stirring drama ; producing in swift succession, and in his sublime rhythmical prose, treatises on 'Reformation in England and the Causes that hitherto have hindered it' ; on 'Prelatical Episcopacy' ; and on 'The Reason of Church Government,' in which he deals with the relations between Church and State. All of these works were written in 1641 or early in 1642. Their arguments are based upon the impregnable rock of Scripture ; before which his mighty intellect ever bowed in reverent submission. They contain, like nearly all his writings, numerous interesting autobiographical reminiscences ; with lofty and noble passages that will live as long as the English language.

The last-named work, apart from its sustained argument, its majestic style, and its breadth of view, is of special interest as shadowing forth in the preface to the Second Book his cherished purpose—fulfilled a quarter

of a century later in 'Paradise Lost'—of attempting a poetical work which his countrymen would not let die. In the 'Animadversions' occurs that sublime prayer-ode, ending, "Come forth out of thy royal chambers, O Prince of all the kings of the earth!" Literary labours such as these largely helped to form public opinion. They marked Milton as a doughty champion of national rights and liberties, and as an unflinching opponent of priestcraft and tyranny, which quailed beneath the touch of his Ithuriel spear. Laud's High Anglicanism had produced its inevitable results. Numerous complaints reached Parliament of the dearth of religious instruction, and of prevalent clerical incompetence or immorality. The complaints were referred to a Committee for Preaching. New functions were assigned to it from time to time. Around this body a keen partisan dispute has waged. The Royalists and the Anglicans bring charges of injustice, bigotry, intolerance, and cruelty. John Walker, in his 'Sufferings of the Clergy'—not issued till 1714—roughly computes that from eight to ten thousand were ejected; but his list does not comprise two thousand names. His opponents allege that even this number was largely exaggerated, and that, though there may have been individual cases of hardship, the majority were put out for cause shown—mostly for inefficiency or for evil life—after careful inquiry, and on unimpeachable testimony. They were allowed one-fifth of the emoluments: an example that was not followed at the Ejectment of 1662. Moreover, it must be remembered that the pressure put upon Episcopalians in the darkest hours of their sufferings under the Commonwealth, is not comparable for violence and injustice with what was inflicted by their own party upon Nonconformists during the reigns that preceded and followed.

An attempt was made to reach a satisfactory conclusion in Church affairs, by an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons on June 12, 1643—a Bill for the purpose having failed to obtain the royal assent—under which was convened the renowned Westminster Assembly of Divines; "to be consulted with by the Parliament for the settling of the Government and Liturgy of the Church of England, and for the vindication and clearing of its doctrine from

false aspersions and interpretations." It discussed at copious length and with not a little acrimony the whole range of dogmatic theology, ecclesiastical polemics, and devotional formularies. It consisted of one hundred and twenty-one clergymen, from all parts of the country; with thirty lay assessors. The most prominent were John Pym, John Selden, Oliver St. John, Bulstrode Whitelocke, Sir Matthew Hale, Serjeant John Maynard, and the two Vanes, father and son. There were also four clerical and three lay Commissioners from the Kirk of Scotland. The former were Alexander Henderson, Robert Baillie, George Gillespie, and Samuel Rutherford. Baillie sent home a long series of letters, which, as supplemental to Dr. John Lightfoot's narrative, furnish one of the best extant descriptions of the proceedings; in spite of his strong Presbyterian bias. Masson, in his 'Life of Milton,' and Dr. Philip Schaff, in his 'Creeds of Christendom,' describe the composition and work of the Assembly. Richard Baxter was not a member, preferring to stand aside; but he affirms that they were men of eminent learning, godliness, ministerial abilities, and fidelity. His testimony is impartial; for he differed from many of them in doctrine and in polity. Though a Presbyterian, he was broader and more generous than his brethren, and did not object to some things characteristic of Episcopacy, and to others peculiar to Congregationalism. Such a representative of the latter as John Howe; such an Episcopalian as Ussher; and such a Presbyterian as Baxter, might have framed a plan of ecclesiastical government so as to embrace a number of federal groups, without the development of a hierarchy, or the subordination of Church Courts, or the isolation and jealousy of scattered congregations. But the time was not ripe for any eclectic system; and there were too many rivalries and struggles for pre-eminence among the clergy of all orders.

The opening meeting was on the first of July, 1643, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. After that, the Jerusalem Chamber was chosen. Dr. William Twisse was appointed prolocutor by Parliament. Eleven hundred and sixty-three sessions were held during six years; the attendance ranging from sixty to eighty, but the pro-

tracted labours were futile, so far as regarded the avowed object of revising and defining the national creed, in lieu of the displaced Episcopacy and the rejected Liturgy. The notion, then almost universally prevalent, continued to be that some form of National Church should exist, with a sharply defined creed and regulated formularies; from which no one was to be allowed to swerve. If the object sought were ever attainable, such a gathering of experts might have achieved it; but the new attempt to crystallize the national belief and to impose inflexible methods of worship met with the fate of all previous and subsequent efforts of the kind. Selden remarked, in his caustic manner, that Parliament tried him with new law, and the Assembly refreshed him with their mad gospel. He was a strong Erastian; believing firmly in the control of the Church by the State; holding, with Hooker, that the Church is really the State acting ecclesiastically; and having scant faith in official clerics or in churches of any kind. He wished "to chain up the clergy on both sides." Like Milton, he had no love for their order; and, also like him, he had a special antipathy to prelates. He said they were unfit to govern, because of their learning; but his attitude on all questions was mainly academic and critical. He differed from the extreme section of the Parliamentary party, and disapproved of the execution of Charles, as both unlawful and inexpedient. After that, he took but little share in public questions until his death, on November 30, 1654. The most learned of his various works are his treatises on 'Titles of Honour' and on 'Tithes'; but perhaps he is best known by his posthumous 'Table Talk,' which abounds in nuggets of gold, and ranks in the same category with the 'Essays' of Montaigne and of Bacon, with Coleridge's 'Aids to Reflection,' or with 'Friends in Council,' by Sir Arthur Helps. Dr. Johnson deemed it the best book of its kind in existence. Grotius styled Selden the glory of the British nation. As compared with Milton, he occupies the relative position in which Erasmus stands to Luther.

The members of the Westminster Assembly were almost unanimous on questions of doctrine; being strongly Calvinistic; but there were keen diversities on the subject of polity; more especially as to the sphere

and limits of the civil power in matters ecclesiastical, and on the granting of toleration. The Presbyterians largely preponderated, and wished to establish their own rigid system ; but besides Selden and a few others who held the Erastian view, there was a small, compact, and able group of Independents, who claimed freedom of conscience for themselves. These, usually styled the Five Dissenting Brethren, were Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, Sidrach Simpson, Jeremiah Burroughs, and William Bridge. Nye had been educated at Oxford ; and the rest at Cambridge. They were accomplished and courageous men ; unrivalled for learning and for logical powers ; but Goodwin was the leader of the party. He and Dr. John Owen, who was not a member of the Assembly, were styled the patriarchs and Atlases of Independency. Owen's temper and deportment conciliated even those who most differed from him. He filled with credit for ten years the dignified office of President of Magdalen College, Oxford. There were five or six other ministers and three laymen within the Assembly, who agreed with and helped the above in their demand for liberty in minor matters, and in their protest against setting up a new spiritual dominion in the room of Prelacy, and who thought Presbyterianism inconsistent with a civil state and inimical to popular freedom. Outside the Assembly, and especially in Parliament and in the Army, they had many influential supporters. Besides toleration, they claimed liberty to form their own congregations, which were to be autonomous ; to have the power of ordination ; and to be free from Presbyterian authority. Baillie says, "In our answer we did flatly deny such a vast liberty." It is with reference to this contest that Milton says,—"New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large" ; and he declared, in 1652, in his famous 'Sonnet to Cromwell' :—

> "New foes arise
> Threatening to bind our souls with secular chains ;
> Help us to save free conscience from the paw
> Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw."

The Presbyterians, like the Early Puritans, were as fanatical and bigoted as the Episcopalians, and as little

prepared to allow to others the exercise of religious liberty. They did not understand its first principles. Baillie calls it "an abomination, and a prodigious impiety." He and his friends supposed that men were unable to walk, unless the line was rigidly marked for them, and a dogmatic staff was thrust into their hands. They claimed divine right for Presbyterianism; and required it to be so recognised by the State. Their attempts to enforce the Solemn League and Covenant, and to inflict civil penalties and disabilities on all who refused it, are as reprehensible as the Inquisition procedure or as Acts of Uniformity. That Covenant, an expansion of the earlier one of 1638, was entered into between the Scottish Estates and the English Parliament, and became the Shibboleth of Presbyterianism. The Commons, with uplifted hands, swore in St. Margaret's Church to observe the Covenant. Malignants, and opponents of reformation in Church and State, were to be punished. A vindictive and an impracticable Ordinance was forced through in 1648 for the suppression of blasphemies and heresies; under which any man who denied the Trinity, or the Divinity of Christ, or Scripture inspiration, or the resurrection of the body and a final judgment, was to suffer death on refusing to abjure. For holding any one of a long list of alleged minor heresies, unlimited imprisonment was meted out; unless sureties were forthcoming that the objectionable opinions should be no longer published or maintained. A further mistake was committed by supposing that penal laws could be enforced against private vices; thus confusing them with crime. The idea of spiritual discipline is ancient. Men were universally accustomed to it. The only questions were, what was to be the standard, and who was to apply it? Thus, in 1650, a conviction for fornication was made punishable with three months' imprisonment; while incest and adultery were declared felony, with a death penalty.

In vain was the effort made to establish uniformity of religion on a Presbyterian model; enforced by the civil authority. They aimed at nothing less than the imposition of a new test, not only upon the clergy, but upon the laity; in lieu of the one under which they and their

fathers had suffered. Such conduct towards their former persecutors, and towards all who differed from them, cannot be justified. Sincerity and strong conviction form no excuse for their intolerance. Hallam's severe censure is richly merited :—"The remorseless and indiscriminate bigotry of Presbyterianism might boast that it had heaped disgrace on Brian Walton"—afterwards Bishop of Chester, and editor of the 'Polyglot Bible'—"and driven Thomas Lydiat," the chronologist and mathematician, "to beggary; that it had trampled on the old age of Hales, and embittered with insult the dying moments of Chillingworth"; but all this was its own condemnation. It refused toleration to others, while demanding supremacy for itself. The Independents, and the English people generally, would not submit to the clerical tyranny beneath which Scotland groaned; as set forth with a painful minuteness that is not a little exaggerated and overcoloured in the third volumeof Buckle's 'History of Civilization.' Nor did the Five Dissenting Brethren, as is usually represented, any more than the Early Separatists, assert absolute liberty of conscience for all men, of every creed and of no creed. Their claim was large, wide, and startling for that day, and is deserving of high praise; but it was not all-comprehensive. They had no scruples about a religious establishment. They concurred in denying toleration to Papists and Anabaptists; even to such an excellent and venerable man as Hanserd Knollys, who renounced his living and his clerical orders in 1630, and thenceforward, down to his death in 1691, at the age of ninety-three, suffered much for the sake of his conscientious opinions as a Baptist. Nye and Goodwin vehemently denounced a petition presented to the Assembly by "an old Anabaptist at Amsterdam," against the Covenant, and in favour of full liberty of conscience to all sects. Even their system of ultra-Independence did not ensure consistency; and their own ideal proved to be impossible of attainment by average men. Their views remained substantially the same with those defined in the fiftieth Chapter. They did not consider that the Church was exempt "from giving account to or being censurable by the civil magistrate." The Independents are worthy of all honour for resisting

the intolerant proposals of the Presbyterian majority; but they are not to be blamed for not having attained to a perception of full religious freedom. Owen and other leaders contended for the perpetual obligation of tithes; and asserted that men had no right, and should not be permitted, to promulgate any opinions they chose. Toleration, in its broadest sense, remained for years the half-uttered Eirenicon of a clear-sighted and courageous few.

The Independents and other Separatists had troublous times under Laud, but were by no means extirpated. Large and influential congregations remained in Holland, besides the migrations across the Atlantic, until the storm of persecution abated, and the exiles were able to return home with the convening of the Long Parliament. Bishop Hall speaks contemptuously of "fourscore congregations of several sectaries, instructed by guides fit for them; cobblers, tailors, felt-makers, and such like trash." The prelatical mind could not tolerate even such a man as William Kiffin, a successful London merchant, and a leader and preacher among the Baptists; a man of beautiful and noble character, whose life extended over the eventful scenes of the Stuarts and the Commonwealth, and ended in 1701, at the age of eighty-six. It is not surprising that the atrabilious and unscrupulous Anthony Wood abused the Baptists, or that Dr. Daniel Featly overwhelmed them with ridicule in his book published in 1644,—'The Dippers Dipt; or, The Anabaptists Duck'd and Plung'd over Head and Ears.' Even Richard Baxter, with all his excellences, had not a good word for them or for Quakers. Thomas Edwards, a Presbyterian clergyman and champion, in his 'Gangræna,' issued in 1645, but long since forgotten, caricatured and ridiculed them. He wrote a second and a third series of this portentous work, and it gave rise to a long and furious controversy, in which the Independents and others whom he assailed as sectaries, defended themselves with vigour, and perhaps with equal virulence, against what they styled the "foul aspersions," of his "ulcerous treatise," with its "rotten matter" gathered by a "scavenger-general"; and similar flowers of rhetoric in which that age delighted. Edwards had a

special hatred for toleration, and would have put down by the strong arm of law all divergence of opinion from what he held to be the only true standard of doctrine; as was the case with most of his co-religionists. Extraordinary, pedantic, and grotesque titles were given to theological books during the sixteenth century. Besides the above, there was one by Henry Ainsworth, 'An Arrow against Idolatrie, taken out of the Quiver of the Lord of Hosts,' 1614; John Goodwin's 'Os Ossorianum, or, a Bone for a Bishop to pick,' 1603; T. Brookes' 'Arke for all God's Noahs in a Gloomy, Stormy Day,' 1662; Caleb Trenchfield's 'Cap of Gray Hairs for a Green Head,' 1688; Daniel Burgess's 'Golden Snuffers,' 1697; T. Hall's 'Loathsomenesse of Long Haire,' 1654; and many more of a similar character. Satirists and dramatists did not fail to perceive the absurdity of such titles, which they have caricatured and exaggerated in lampoons and comedies.

Milton makes a noteworthy digression in his fragment of a 'History of England,' to record his later and deliberate opinion of the Westminster Assembly in its subsequent developments. His terrible indictment is too true; but he was never forgiven for making it. Probably, also, his startling treatises on Divorce, issued in 1644 and 1645, had much to do with the adverse judgment formed respecting him by the zealots. His early experience of married life was not happy. It seems to have been a sudden and ill-assorted match; such as men of genius, but lacking in common sense, often form under a fit of impulse. His young wife, Mary Powell, frightened by the learning of her husband, and finding his society uncongenial and his house dull, returned to her home on a long visit, which threatened to become permanent. A reconciliation was effected; and Milton was able to render signal service to her family during the troublous times; but his general opinion of women appears to have been somewhat cold and contemptuous; and the flippant criticism has been expressed that while he could depict a majestic Satan, his Eve is no better than a good managing housekeeper who knows her place. Like John Locke, whose 'Letters concerning Toleration' appeared from 1689 to 1692, he was nearly two centuries in advance

of his age. But the men who are before their time make later times what they are. The logical position taken up by these two men of colossal intellect and of broad sympathies—though Milton drew the line of liberty at what he called "neighbouring differences, or, rather, indifferences," and though Locke tried to define a distinction between civil governments and all others—is not even yet fully recognised ; nor is the long struggle ended between party tradition and political progress ; between ecclesiastical uniformity and religious freedom ; between conventional laws and individual liberty : so slow are men to concede to others rights clamorously and passionately demanded for themselves.

The domineering spirit of the Presbyterians, and the attempt to set up another form of hierarchy, were jealously watched by the Long Parliament ; which filled up all vacancies and appointed all officials in the Westminster Assembly. It had no intention to permit the creation of a new clerical Frankenstein. It had resisted the intolerance and tyranny of Prelacy ; and was as determined to resist the same spirit in Presbyterianism. As long as Parliament held the power, it would not allow any sect or priestly caste to impose fetters upon the English people. Men like Pym and Cromwell were not likely to bow their necks to any form of spiritual domination. They agreed with Clarendon ; who said that of all classes of men he ever had to do with, the clergy were the most narrow-minded in judging of affairs ; a remark that is true of the professional members of every sect. The functions and powers of the Assembly were strictly defined and curtailed by the Ordinance that called it into existence. All its business was regulated ; the subjects of discussion were prescribed ; and its conclusions were to be submitted to the two Houses ; without whose express sanction no publication of the proceedings might take place. Differences of opinion were to be notified for advice. Thus the Assembly was kept in leading-strings, and made to follow a prescribed course. Three questions were chiefly debated : the Divine Right of a particular form of Church government ; the Power of the Keys,—or the authority to admit to the Sacraments, and to exclude from them ; and

toleration of dissidents. The principal fruits of the prolonged deliberations, after streams, and floods, and cataracts of talk, were the 'Directory of Public Worship,' submitted to Parliament in April, 1644, and ratified in October; the 'Confession of Faith,' sharply defining the doctrines of Calvinism, in terms which few theologians of the present day would accept, and presented December 4, 1646; the 'Shorter Catechism,' in November, 1647; and the 'Larger Catechism,' in the following September. Both of these were familiar in Nonconformist families for generations. All copies of the Book of Common Prayer were called in; its use was forbidden under penalties; and such ministers as did not use the 'Directory,' or who wrote against it, were to be fined.

The subject of Psalmody was also considered. The revised rendering by Francis Rous found favour; and a recommendation for its use was adopted by the House of Commons; which also ordained, October 13, 1647, that the Presbyterian form of church government should be tried for one year. No further legislation followed; nor was the system fully adopted, save in London and in Lancashire, where its adherents were most numerous and influential. The doctrinal part of the 'Confession'—the title being changed by Parliament to 'Articles of the Christian Religion' — was repeatedly discussed and altered, but not ratified until March, 1648. The particulars as to discipline were remitted back, or virtually rejected. As, of course, the various proposals never received the royal assent, they were regarded at the Restoration as of no validity; and the old forms resumed their place and power. In Scotland, the results of the Assembly's labours had been formally adopted by the Legislature and by the General Assembly of the Kirk. Numerous skits and lampoons appeared on the Assembly; assailing it in coarse and virulent language. If it has been unduly depreciated and treated with contempt, on the other hand it has been extravagantly lauded, as if its members were inspired. While these disputations were at their height, in 1644, Milton ennobled English literature by the issue of his 'Areopagitica'; being an address to Parliament in favour of unlicensed printing; a flame of eloquence that will never die out. It is, perhaps, the

masterpiece among his prose writings. John Stuart Mill's memorable plea for social liberty is an elaboration of the great principles laid down by Milton.

Charles, with his incurable duplicity, was intriguing with the Irish Catholics at the same time that he was endeavouring to detach the Presbyterians. This precipitated his ruin; for it alienated the Scots from his cause, and determined them to carry out a proposal by the Parliament to raise an army for service in England. They joined the troops investing York, under Fairfax; Charles being shut up in Oxford by Essex. The Battle of Marston Moor, four miles from York, on July 2, 1644, mainly decided by Cromwell and his Ironsides, was one of the most severe and bloody of the whole war. It proved fatal to the King's cause in the North; but was in danger of being largely neutralized by the slow movements of the Earl of Essex, and by divisions and factions elsewhere. These led to the passing in February, 1645, of the Ordinance for recasting and consolidating the Army into a compact and manageable force; and also the famous Self-denying Ordinance, in April. Members of both Houses were precluded from holding military commands in future; a special power being reserved to employ men of exceptional ability; as was done in the case of three other officers besides Cromwell; then Lieutenant-General under Fairfax, newly-appointed Commander-in-chief. A further attempt, in January and February, 1645, known as the Treaty of Uxbridge, to effect an arrangement with Charles, proved nugatory, because he would not yield on any point. He withdrew towards Leicester; followed by Fairfax and Cromwell. The Battle of Naseby, nearly midway between Market Harborough and Daventry, fought on June 14, 1645, ended in the rout of his army, and the capture of his secret correspondence. It was immediately published by the Parliament, as showing his unchanged purposes and his double-dealing. By this battle, his cause was hopelessly shattered. Any further prolongation of the war was inexcusable. He had appealed to the sword, and been thoroughly beaten. His main army was annihilated, and his resources were exhausted. Only one of two

courses remained ; either to come to terms, or to retire to France, where he was sure of an asylum. He tried the former ; and three months were spent in fruitless negotiations ; not intended by him to effect anything ; as his own letters show.

As his position became more critical, and he was openly insulted and abandoned by Prince Rupert and other self-seekers, he secretly quitted Oxford, disguised as a groom, with only two attendants, and proceeded by unfrequented roads to Newark, then being invested by the Scottish army, to which he surrendered unconditionally. He remained a virtual prisoner for nearly nine months, from May 6, 1646. They retired to Newcastle, and maintained interminable discussions with the Parliament for the establishment of Presbyterianism. The English army and its leaders were mainly under the sway of the Independents, who were bent on resisting this new ecclesiastical supremacy. On the other hand, Presbyterian zealots were scandalized and offended because so many of the troops had not subscribed to the Covenant, and were not likely to do so. In the midst of all the confusion, an arrangement was made by Parliament, as a matter of "brotherly assistance," for the Scottish army to receive four hundred thousand pounds, being about one-half of the sum claimed for the cost of making war against Charles in defence of their rights, and as a consideration for them to withdraw across the Border. This has been likened to the act of Judas ; but it was known that the false King was playing them off against the English. He was given up on February 3, 1647, to the English Commissioners, who treated him with all respect, and conducted him to an assigned residence at Holmby House, near Northampton.

Cromwell had stamped out the Royalist cause in the West, by the storming of Bristol in September, 1645 ; by the renowned capture of Basing House ; by successes at Bridgewater, Winchester, and elsewhere ; and, finally, by the surrender of Prince Rupert and his brother, Prince Maurice, on the Treaty of Oxford, June 15, 1646. From that event down to the end of the next year, although the First Civil War had actually ceased, and there was no more fighting, it was an anxious and a critical time. The

Presbyterian faction in the Commons, in order to perpetuate their own ascendancy and to relieve the taxes, resolved to disband the Army; but there were difficulties about long arrears of pay, and, moreover, the citizen-soldiers had left their occupations and submitted to discipline, loss, hardship, and risk for the accomplishment of what they believed to be patriotic and religious objects. Each regiment chose agents to speak and act for it. They were termed Adjutators; which has been corrupted into Agitators, with a sinister meaning. The Army trusted Fairfax, and other generals; but Cromwell most of all; and they resented the covert attacks upon him. They did not intend to lay down their weapons until the work was finished for which they had sacrificed so much, or until the cause was triumphant for which so many of their friends had died in battle. Deputations came to their headquarters from Parliament, to settle arrears of pay, chiefly in the vague form of promises; and to endeavour to effect an agreement on certain specific demands for the future. Nothing short of a Republic would satisfy the Army; and a definite scheme was proposed by them. The dispute took an unexpected turn. Cornet Joyce was sent, in June, 1647, to Holmby House by the Army leaders, with five hundred troopers, to secure the King; who appears to have been a party to the scheme. When asked for his commission, Joyce pointed to his soldiers; and Charles said it was written in fine and legible characters. He was conducted, not unwillingly, to Newmarket, whence the main body of the Army set forth for London. Fairfax, Cromwell, Ireton, and the other officers sent forward a letter addressed to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, declaring their object to be a settlement of the peace of the kingdom and the securing of the liberties of the subject. The City authorities sided with them; yet some discreditable scenes of violence occurred. For a few days, mob-law was triumphant; but the arrival of the troops ended that danger. Cromwell and his Ironsides had no more regard for Sansculotteism and rowdy violence than for kingly despotism. The idle, the disorderly, and the vicious found swift and sharp justice at their hands.

Charles was lodged in various places, and finally in

Hampton Court ; still cherishing the vain hope that one party would extirpate the other for his benefit. A new scheme of government was submitted to him. Parliament was to meet every two years. The electorate was to be determined by area and property. Rotten boroughs were to cease to send members. Each Session was to continue one hundred and twenty days. The King was not to pardon where judgment was pronounced in cases of impeachment. Parliament was to control the militia for ten years. Peace and war were to be declared by the Legislature , which was also to nominate three persons for the King's choice for each office of State. The prelates might be restored ; without power to persecute ; and either the Prayer Book or the Covenant and the Directory might be used. Finally, the administration of justice was to be improved, for which there was urgent need. Charles, however, rejected everything, in such a way as to close and bar the door against further attempts at settlement. "You cannot do without me," he said to Ireton ; "you are lost if I do not support you." Ireton rejoined,—"You have an intention to be an arbitrator between us and the Parliament ; we mean to be so between the Parliament and your Majesty." On November 11, 1647, he went to Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, and remained there more than a year ; ten pounds a day being allowed for his maintenance. He might at any time have crossed the Channel ; but he hugged the delusion that his old absolutism would be restored by setting the Parliament against the Army, and both against the Scots. Devious ways and a crooked policy had become with him a second nature.

CHAPTER LVII.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

A.D. 1648–1653.

Renewed efforts were made by Charles I. to come to terms with a section of the Scots. By their advice, he

rejected all arrangements with the Parliament and with the Army leaders. A secret compact, known as the Engagement, was entered into, on the basis of his assent to the Presbyterian Establishment temporarily set up in England. A force of eighteen thousand Scottish foot and six thousand cavalry crossed the Border, under the Duke of Hamilton, only to be met and utterly discomfited at Preston by Cromwell, August 17, 1648. He had spent the three preceding months in South Wales, where disaffection had broken out. He chased Hamilton and the remnant of his troops, and scattered them ; reached Edinburgh early in October, and came to a satisfactory arrangement with the Committee of Estates. Public opinion was divided ; but there was a greater dread of Popery and Prelacy than of the English Independents. Fairfax struck heavy blows at Royalist uprisings in the South-Eastern counties ; and Lambert was on the watch in the North. During Cromwell's prolonged absence, the Presbyterians in the Commons opened fresh communications with Charles, who toyed with them, and was as full of wiles and reservations as ever. To defeat his Machiavellian policy of "divide and govern," a plan was suddenly executed that had been maturing for some time. The principal officers of the Army, seeing that everything for which they had fought was in danger of being lost, and feeling convinced that the King was the source of all the troubles, determined to bring him to public trial. The sixth volume of the 'Somers Tracts' contains a report of a remarkable meeting at Windsor, in November, 1648, when the decision was taken ; with the reasons for it.

Two ominous incidents occurred almost simultaneously. On the sixth of December, Colonel Pride placed his regiment around Westminster Hall, and prevented the entrance of one hundred and forty-three members who had rendered themselves obnoxious by their ultra-Presbyterianism. The residue, eighty-nine in number, were regarded as the fag-end of the Long Parliament, and, with such of the secluded members as returned, were contemptuously named the Rump. The day after Pride's Purge was thus effected, Cromwell arrived in London from the North. He said that he was not

acquainted with the design, yet, since it was done, he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it. The other incident occurred ten days later. The expurgated House of Commons appointed thirty-eight of their number to frame charges against the King, for overthrowing the rights and liberties of the people. As the few remaining Lords hesitated to concur, an Ordinance was passed, creating a High Court of Justice, of one hundred and thirty-five members; many of whom did not attend, or came but once or twice. Serjeant Bradshaw (1586–1659), the subject of one of Milton's splendid delineations in the 'Defence of the People of England,' was chosen president. The trial took place in January, 1649, in Westminster Hall. Charles refused to plead. He displayed a courage and a dignity that have done more than anything else in his life to invest him with respect. "He nothing common did, or mean upon that memorable scene," wrote Andrew Marvell, in the 'Ode to Cromwell.' He appears to have believed that they would not dare to sentence him; serenely confident in the "Divinity that doth hedge a king." The execution took place in front of the Banquetting House, Whitehall, on Tuesday afternoon, the thirtieth of January. The credulity of the age, worthy of Washington Irving's Ichabod Crane, did not fail to observe that the year was marked by many disasters, losses, and portents; which were interpreted as Divine judgments. After the Restoration a special Form of Service was ordered, to commemorate the Royal Saint and Martyr.

That the execution was a mistake may be admitted, without charging its authors with an unprecedented, a horrible, and an inexpiable crime. They held that a despot who had violated public liberties; who had inflicted cruel and illegal punishment on all who opposed his misrule; who had plunged the country into civil war, and had persisted in the struggle when it was seen to be hopeless; and who had never ceased to scheme and lie for his own absolutism, was an outlaw and an enemy of the human race, and deserving of death. Under the existing circumstances, and with the terrible remembrance of long years of misgovernment; of

numberless acts of oppression, mutilation, and banishment; of the ghosts of men like Eliot perpetually haunting them; and of the awful secrets of many prison-houses, it was difficult to take any other course. It is no reproach to them to say, viewing the matter in calm blood and through the mellowing haze of distance, that they unwittingly defeated their purpose, and gave a factitious importance to their victim. With his death, however, an end was put to the old monarchy, with its personal despotism and its disregard of the rights and wishes of the governed. The Restoration of the Stuarts was in no sense a revival of the former monarchical type; and the Glorious Revolution amply vindicated the men of the Commonwealth. The book falsely ascribed to Charles I., entitled, 'Eikon Basilikè, or, a True Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings,' appeared in ten days, and ran through numerous editions during the year. It represented him almost as a second Christ on earth. The real author was Dr. John Gauden, rector and dean of Bocking, Essex. His book was replied to by Milton, in 'Eikonoklastes, or, the Image-breaker.' The royal effigy having been set up for national adulation, Milton addressed himself to the congenial task of throwing down, battering, and pulverizing the idol. Step by step he examines and refutes the mis-statements, the false issues, the halting argument, and the mock sentiment of his adversary; exposing with merciless logic his suppressions and perversions of recent facts. Milton was, doubtless, acquainted with George Buchanan's 'De Jure Regni apud Scotos.' He had already issued a pamphlet on 'The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates'; designed to maintain the proposition that it is lawful to depose and execute a tyrant, or wicked ruler; which he does with all the affluence of his learning, with forcible reasoning, and copious illustration. He preferred Queen Truth to King Charles.

Early in 1650, he was called upon by the Council of State to reply to another defence of Charles, written in crabbed Latin by one Claudius Salmasius, a learned bookworm and a prolific scribbler; a Frenchman by birth, and a professor in Leyden University. His work is remembered only because it evoked Milton's immortal

'Defence of the People of England'; also written in Latin, but of the purest style. Never did Cicero, "winged with red lightning and impetuous rage," wield that language more effectively. Milton grapples with the doctrine of regal absolutism; examines all the learned quotations by Salmasius, and refutes them; exposes his ignorance and his perversion of recent events; and crushes and overwhelms him with an invective that is sometimes awful. Milton was righteously indignant with the hireling scribe who had sold himself for a hundred Jacobuses to malign the people of England. The 'Defence' became the topic of correspondence and of conversation among the learned all over Europe. It is the most brilliant achievement in the annals of controversy; but has a pathetic interest. Warned that his sight, already failing from excessive study, would wholly vanish under the task, he cheerfully undertook it, and nobly performed it. His subsequent works, in prose and poetry, were dictated; yet not a word of complaint or repining is met with. The highest philosophy and the noblest heroism inspire the Sonnets in which specific reference is made to his blindness. His triumph, thus dearly bought, was decisive; for the humiliation of his adversary was complete, and he died of vexation in a little more than two years. Milton published a 'Second Defence,' May 30, 1654, in reply to an anonymous work, 'Regii Sanguinis Clamor, or, the Cry of the King's Blood.' It was attributed to one Alexander More, or Morus; half Scot and half Frenchman, but settled in Holland. The real author was Peter du Moulin the younger; a Royalist clergyman. Not merely was the paid advocate silenced, but the cause of pretended regal legitimacy and Divine Right was quashed for ever in England, in spite of attempted revivals under James II. These two renowned treatises contain the principles acted upon in the Revolution of 1688, and now formally embodied in the British Constitution, and approved of by the vast majority of those who live under the ægis of its protection. As in the whole of Milton's works, there breathes in every page a passionate love of liberty. By way of antithesis, in theme and in manner, a passing allusion may be made to that enthusiastic Royalist, John

Taylor, a London waterman, usually styled the Water-Poet; whose eighty fugitive publications in prose and verse, contemptible in a literary sense, furnish interesting glimpses of the times in which he lived (1580–1654). He was proud of one line of his doggerel, "Lewd did I live, and evil I did dwel," which reads the same backwards. Another writer who adhered to the royal cause was Francis Quarles (1592–1644), in whose quaint and gloomy 'Emblems' the strange doctrinal conceits of the time found expression.

After the execution of Charles, there were prolonged conferences among the Army officers, and heated debates in the House of Commons, with a view to settle the future Republic. Hume truly remarks, notwithstanding his Tory prejudices,—"The new splendour and glory of the Dutch Commonwealth, where liberty so happily supported industry, made the commercial part of the nation desire to see a like form of government established in England." The House of Lords had dwindled to five or six members in attendance, and they were extinguished as a separate assembly by a resolution of the Commons, February 6, 1649. Kingship was abolished in a similar fashion on the following day. An attempted substitute for the Lords was a body resembling a Senate, or Upper House, called the Council of State, consisting of forty-one members, with Bradshaw as President. Its powers, though extreme, were rigidly defined; and its proceedings during the eleven years of the Commonwealth are duly recorded. Milton, then in his forty-first year, was appointed, at a salary of two hundred and eighty-eight pounds, Secretary for Foreign Tongues. Latin was then the universal language among the learned. His numerous despatches and letters rank among the most renowned State documents of any age or country. A Commonwealth, or Free State, was proclaimed, May 19, 1649, "by the Supreme Authority of this Nation, the Representatives of the People in Parliament . . . without any King or House of Lords"; but the extreme parties of Royalists, Fifth-Monarchy men, and Levellers were opposed. The latter had already given trouble. They demanded absolute social equality. They were led by men strong in their narrow convictions, fanatical and

desperate, and reckless of their own lives. "License they mean when they cry liberty," said Milton, who knew them well. Cromwell's sturdy common-sense perceived the danger. He did not intend to act the part of John of Leyden. Twice he had suppressed incipient army mutinies by prompt and stern measures; knowing that sharp justice executed upon the few is mercy to the many. Then, and on another occasion subsequently, he saved England from a Reign of Terror. He now said to the Council of State :—"You must make an end of this party; or it will make an end of you."

John Lilburne, or Freeborn John, as he styled himself, was one of the most troublesome and persistent members. It was proverbially said of him, in a phrase attributed to the witty Henry Marten, that if no one else were alive, John would quarrel with Lilburne; as Panurge found some objection or ground of dispute in everything suggested by Pantagruel. Lilburne, sincere but impractical, a prolific pamphleteer and naturally pugnacious, advocated individualism to such an extreme that it amounted to a negation of law. He belonged to a type of brawlers in the market-place whose stock-in-trade is a voice and a vocabulary. An aimless visionary and an egotistical agitator, one of the noisiest declaimers that England ever produced, his mind was, doubtless, impaired by his prolonged sufferings under Laud. His familiar epithet for the Westminster Assembly was the Dry Vines. Cromwell, who allowed him forty shillings a week, was styled Self-in-the-Highest. He assailed men of every party. The Long Parliament, stung by his ingratitude, his criticisms, and his intemperate zeal, had him arrested and tried in 1649. By a straining of authority, he was kept in prison, though acquitted by the jury. The burden of his speeches and tracts was the supposed rights of the people. He became almost as much an idol of the ignorant and fickle mob as Wilkes, or Cobbett, or Burdett, or O'Connell in later times. He could not be silenced while he lived. His funeral was characteristic. Strange to say, this noisy, vehement, self-asserting man had joined the Quakers, of all sects; and there was an unseemly wrangle at his interment, August 31, 1657, over the question whether a

pall should cover the coffin. Closely allied to this war of pamphlets, issued by hundreds every year, was the use made by party disputants of ballads and songs, to an extent far greater than ever before prevailed. Many of the effusions were gathered into volumes. One of the earliest, published in 1660, is entitled, 'Ratts Rhimed to Death; or, the Rump Parliament hanged up in the Shambles.' These precursors of Grub-street and of similar unsavoury localities, were adapted to old and familiar tunes, which have come down to the present day.

Graver difficulties for the Commonwealth than such as arose from the pasquinades of pamphleteers and ballad-writers were found in the posture of Irish and Scottish affairs. In Ireland, eight years of anarchy had followed despotism and brutality on the side of the adventurers and settlers, and blind vengeance on that of the natives. The chronic religious feuds had again broken out; not only between Protestants and Catholics, but between two factions of the latter, fomented by the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini. There was also the ancient and apparently irrepressible war of races. Murder, pillage, and incendiarism were rampant; provoking terrible reprisals. At this juncture, as if to aggravate the feeling, Charles II. was proclaimed in Ireland by some foolish enthusiasts, and ostentatious preparations for an invasion were made by Royalist refugees on the Continent. To meet the threatening condition of affairs, money was voted by the Commons for the expense of raising an army. The command, with the title of Lord-Lieutenant, was given to Cromwell, who, on July 12, 1649, set out by way of Bristol and Milford Haven for Dublin. Like the Hammer of Thor, as Carlyle describes him, an armed soldier, terrible as Death, relentless as Doom, executing what he believed to be God's judgments on the enemies of God, he descended on the land, and with a series of mighty and awful strokes made peace. Drogheda, refusing to capitulate, was carried by storm. Wexford followed, with similar scenes of carnage. The laws of war, as then understood, continued to be carried out down to the time of Wellington and his Peninsular campaigns, with all the horrors of storming by the

English of Ciudad Rodrigo and of Badajoz. After the refusal of quarter to the above garrisons, Ross, Youghal, Cork, Kilkenny, and other places surrendered, terror-stricken. The memory of all this rankled for generations; but the circumstances and the habits of the times must be considered. Cromwell challenged his enemies to cite one instance of needless harshness or cruelty. He deplored the necessity for what he did; but, unlike the Imperialists on the Continent during the terrible Thirty Years' War, and unlike the Irish Papists, he protected non-combatants.

It is a fiction to say that he meant to extirpate the Irish people. He tried to extirpate their barbarism, and to plant law, order, and industry. His actual Scheme of Settlement is given in Scobell's 'Collection.' How the matter appeared to an upright and patriotic man like Andrew Marvell may be seen in his 'Horatian Ode upon Cromwell's Return from Ireland'; one of the least known but one of the grandest Odes in the language. Clarendon admits that Ireland greatly flourished under the arrangements made by Cromwell, which, unhappily, were thrust aside at the Restoration; and then came the brutal Penal Code, with its heritage of woe. Cromwell was recalled by other events in May, 1650; leaving his son-in-law, Henry Ireton (1610–1651) as Deputy, who fully maintained the position until his premature and lamented death. He was succeeded by Henry Cromwell; the ablest of the Protector's sons. Those who held out against the English received the name of Tories; but the derivation and primary use of the word cannot be determined. A plausible conjecture is that it was given to those who robbed and outraged under pretence of supporting the royal cause; and that it was extended by a loose application to such as maintained the extreme prerogatives of the Crown. The opposite term, Whig, or Whigamore, was first used in Scotland to denote supposed sourness and asceticism. Both words were gradually amplified into larger political meanings.

The Scots had been corresponding with Charles II. at Breda, in Holland. They were willing to own him as King, provided he took the Solemn League and Covenant. He subscribed it twice, in 1650 and in 1651;

though it asserted the misrule of his father and the idolatry of his mother. He listened to interminable sermons; burlesquing them among his boon companions; but he chafed under the severe moral discipline enforced, as he did under the rebukes of the decorous Hollanders, who were scandalized by his profligate habits. One of the caricatures of the time represents him with his nose to a grindstone which Jock Presbyter is turning. He landed in Scotland, June 16, 1650. The Council of State determined to open an attack forthwith, instead of giving his adherents time to assume the aggressive. Early in July, Cromwell, now Captain-General and Commander-in-chief in succession to Fairfax, who disapproved of the Scottish campaign, marched from London with an army of eleven thousand men; transports with stores and provisions accompanying them by sea. He knew of the dissensions prevailing North of the Tweed, and he determined to strike a swift and decisive blow. He preluded it with explanatory declarations addressed to the people of Scotland; taking pains to show that the quarrel was not with them, but with their unwise rulers and their bigoted clerics. He waged a sharp controversy with the latter; who soon found that he could also wield a sword as famous as Excalibar. On Monday, September 3, 1650, the great Battle of Dunbar was fought. Two hours ended the conflict. Three thousand Scots lay dead; and ten thousand more, with their stores and artillery, were captured. The tidings aroused intense enthusiasm in London. A medal was struck in honour of the victory; the first war medal ever granted to an English army; and it bore Cromwell's likeness, in spite of his protests. His letters vividly describe the scene, in homely, forcible, idiomatic language.

Charles II. was crowned at Scone, January 1, 1651. It was a barren honour. Cromwell secured Edinburgh and other places, with much cannon and military stores, including "the great iron murderer called Muckle Meg." By various strategic movements he became master of the greater part of the country. Charles and his supporters, nauseated by six sermons at one sitting; forbidden to take a walk on Sunday; deprived of games of chance;

weary of stringent Presbyterian rule, which was particularly irksome to their loose morality; and mistrusting the divisions among the Scots, who, in return, had no confidence in Charles, and perpetually watched him, suddenly made a countermarch, while Cromwell was in Fife with a view to force another battle. They entered England by Carlisle early in August; vainly hoping for a welcome in Lancashire; and then pushed on towards the Welsh border and the Cavalier districts in the West. Cromwell swiftly followed, as soon as Perth capitulated, and overtook them at Worcester. He laid his plans with consummate skill, and secured control of both sides of the Severn. After "as stiff a contest for four or five hours as I have ever seen," he wrote, "the crowning mercy" came in complete victory on the third of September. Six or seven thousand prisoners were taken, including many officers and noblemen. All the leaders were killed, captured, or wounded. The invading army of sixteen thousand was practically annihilated. Experiencing numerous adventures and hair-breadth escapes, in royal oaks and other ways, and being hidden in unsavoury places by trusty friends, Charles reached Bristol, only to find no ship available. He was then conducted through devious roads, and contrived, after forty-two days, to obtain a furtive passage from what was then the little fishing village of Brighthelmstone, and landed at Fécamp, in France. He joined his mother and his brother James in Paris; but, ere long, his presence there was unwelcome, and he went to the Netherlands once more.

Great rejoicings over the Worcester victory took place in London. The thanks of the House were tendered to Cromwell; with a banquet. Hampton Court was assigned to him as a residence, and an estate of four thousand pounds in yearly value, in addition to twenty-five hundred voted May 31, 1650, on his return from Ireland. Worcester fight was the last of his great battles. General Monk, having seen cause to abandon the falling fortunes of royalty, only to change sides again when it suited his purpose, completed in Scotland the work begun there by Cromwell. Within a few months, the authority of Parliament was recognised all over the

country, and in the chief colonies. One of the saddest and most dishonourable incidents of the strife was the beheading of James, seventh Earl of Derby, at Bolton, October 15, 1651, after the farce of a trial by court-martial, on a pretended charge of high-treason for corresponding with Charles Stuart and abetting his invasion. A promise of quarter, given on his surrender, was violated. Cromwell intervened in vain on his behalf. His wife, the heroine of the siege of Lathom House, and daughter of the Huguenot Duke de la Tremouille, survived her husband twelve years; and while, like him, faithful to the royal cause, was also true to the Protestant principles of her family. Only four other prisoners are known to have been executed; but some hundreds were deported to New England; as had been done with prisoners taken at Dunbar. Others were sent to Ireland, and a much larger number—one thousand in a single instance—were set to work for the adventurers who had undertaken to drain the Fens of Lincolnshire.

Cromwell discovered that during his prolonged absence the remnant of the Parliament, ingloriously termed the Rump, had been split into little coteries; each acting for its own interests. Like all revolutionary assemblies, in the lack of a clear head and a guiding hand, it had fallen a prey to internal dissensions. It had lost touch with the country, since its election in 1640. A new and an unexpected order of things had arisen. The residue of the members, while suffering from political atrophy, pretended to speak and act in the name of the whole people of England; in the spirit of a permanent Committee, or a self-appointed oligarchy. Much unseemly strife occurred; with perpetual contests for supremacy. "Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven," the sentiment, resembling that of Achilles in the 'Odyssey' (xi. 600), ascribed to Satan by Milton, like many more of his famous phrases, must have been suggested by passing events. There were frequent complaints of partiality, injustice, and intolerance. Promises of dissolution, and of another appeal to the country, were forgotten or evaded. The Council of Army Officers propounded a scheme that reads like a modern Reform Bill. A Parliament of four hundred members, elected by all

householders rated for the relief of the poor, was to assemble every two years. By a wide redistribution of seats, all places of importance were to be represented. Military and civil officers were to be excluded. Nothing came of this, or of other petitions, conferences, and suggestions. Cromwell again and again urged the need for this phantom Legislature to vanish, and give place to one that truly represented the nation. The remaining members, about one hundred in all, only the half of whom took an actual part in affairs, at length determined, in November, 1651, to give effect to his advice; not immediately, but after the lapse of three years. They were, however, according to a later plan, to retain their seats in the new Parliament, and were to decide the validity of the elections and the fitness of the other persons chosen.

Months passed by without improvement, but rather with deterioration and added complaints. Cromwell remonstrated, in the House as a member; privately as a friend; and officially, as holding high military command; but in vain. They would not surrender power, emoluments, and patronage, until forced to do so; although the country was rushing on to a Niagara. The disease was desperate; and a desperate remedy was devised in the form of political surgery without precedent. After many conferences among the Army leaders, and after futile interviews with the principal members, it was decided, April 19, 1653, at a meeting of officers, lawyers, and some twenty sympathising members of the House, to put an end to its sittings. The next day witnessed the memorable scene when Cromwell went down with a detachment of soldiers, and dispersed the fifty-three members then present; after he had reproached them in a speech flaming with indignation at their self-seeking. Carlyle has dramatized the incident. The Council of State was suppressed the same day. That the procedure was high-handed is unquestionable. It can be justified only by the special circumstances and by the event. It was an act of violence to a moribund House, which, however, aimed at an invasion of the constitutional rights of the community, and had actually brought the machinery of government to a deadlock. "There was

not so much as the barking of a dog, or any general and visible repining" at their departure; Cromwell said, in his speech of September 12, 1654.

Contemptuous allusions to the Rump Parliament, and deserved criticisms upon some parts of its procedure, cannot obscure the fact that the body whence it sprung contained statesmen and jurists whose ability, courage, and patriotism have never been excelled; and who, at any period, and in any country, would have done much to create a heroic age. There is no reason to blush for the work accomplished. Commercial and domestic affairs were not neglected; nor were the safety, honour, and welfare of the country impaired. The Navy was placed on a sound basis. The coinage was restored to its proper standard. Weights and measures were adjusted. Adulteration of goods was punished. Parish officers were restrained in the removal of poor and aged persons. The condition of the deserving poor was mitigated. Checks were placed on the number of licensed beer-houses. Among other matters that received careful attention were the street traffic in London; the control of watermen and hackney coaches; the circulation of letters and news-sheets; the repression of highway robbery; the establishment of a system for maintaining the public roads; the relief of poor prisoners committed for debt; and the ransom of English captives abroad. A Committee was appointed, with Sir Matthew Hale as chairman, to consider questions of legal reform. Twenty thousand causes had been awaiting judgment in Chancery; many for ten, twenty, and even thirty years. In the other Courts the delay and expense amounted to a denial of justice. In criminal matters the grievance was worse. The Committee sat for eighteen months, and submitted proposals that would have revolutionized the whole system in the direction of equity, speed, and cheapness. Only a few of the suggestions could then be carried out; such as legal processes being in English; a modification of the archaic laws relating to treason and felony; and the abolition of the Court of Wards, and of all those tenures which were the subject of its jurisdiction; described by Blackstone as "a greater acquisition to the civil property of this kingdom than even Magna Charta itself."

Although other and larger measures of legal reform could not be secured, owing to the interested resistance of lawyers, such as a simple process of land purchase and registration, they form the basis of nearly all the improvements since effected; while some of them yet remain to be accomplished. Cromwell said at the time, —"The sons of Zeruiah, the lawyers, were too many for them." Attempts were made, in accordance with the spirit of the age, to regulate the rate of interest, to control various trades and industries; and, by passing Navigation Laws, to ruin the carrying trade of the Dutch. These laws remained in force for generations, and beguiled even the strong and clear intellect of Adam Smith. An Act was passed against duelling; only to be repealed, with other salutary measures, at the Restoration. Some important steps were taken towards religious toleration, within the narrow limits then possible. Public morals and manners were cared for in a way that speaks more for the motives of the legislators than for their knowledge of human nature, or for their perception of what was practicable; although it must be remembered that there were Statutes against immorality, dating back for centuries. Probably this kind of censorship had more to do with the Stuart reaction than any other reason that can be assigned. To make men religious, temperate, or chaste by Act of Parliament is as impossible as to secure uniformity of features or in length of limbs; and it is certain to induce hypocrisy or resistance. It is not surprising that average men rebelled against well-intended efforts to confiscate goods offered for sale on Sundays or on days of humiliation and thanksgiving; to inflict fines for travelling, for entertainment in inns, and for other cases of alleged Sabbath-breaking; to impose penalties, graduated according to rank, for profanity; to gibbet immodesty in dress; to forbid the use by women of paint and black patches; to seek to regulate life and manners, business and amusements, and to prevent blasphemy and irreligion, by legislative measures. In the third book of his fragment of a 'History of England,' when describing the condition of the Britons after the departure of the Romans, Milton seizes the occasion to draw a parallel with the state of the country during the latter part of

the rule of the Long Parliament. His trenchant criticism was omitted from the first edition; doubtless by expurgation of the censor. It appears within brackets in subsequent editions; but the style is unmistakably Milton's. It expresses his final opinion, after the disappointment of his early hopes; and it is of universal application. Milton would have had no sympathy with the modern dogma of the infallibility of the uninformed; which takes for granted that ignorance, many times multiplied, will give results more valuable than can be produced by the knowledge and experience of the competent few.

After the dispersion of the Rump, there ensued for a time what may be defined, apart from transient forms, as more or less of a military dictatorship. Under the circumstances, such a condition of things, however much to be regretted, was inevitable. Cromwell instantly devised measures to convene an assembly that should assist him in laying down what he hoped might prove to be a broad and stable basis of administration. One hundred and twenty-two men of position, experience, and high character, "known persons, men fearing God, and of approved integrity," were invited to represent the counties of England; with five for Scotland, and six each for Wales and Ireland. It was the first attempt at a joint Legislature. The names of this Assembly of Notables were carefully selected, in consultation with trusted friends in the provinces; and on June 6, 1653, Cromwell, as Captain-General, sent to them invitations to meet at Whitehall on the fourth of July, to provide for the peace, safety, and good government of the Commonwealth. All but two complied. He opened the proceedings of this Little Parliament with one of his characteristic addresses. He reviewed the chief events since 1640; the troubles of the late assembly; and his own necessary action, "as the government must not fail." He appealed for their wise counsel and loyal help; setting forth urgent claims and the noblest motives. For two hours, on a very sultry day, did he thus address them out of the fulness of his heart; often with deep emotion; and then he left them to their deliberations. A list of the members is given in the sixth volume of the 'Somers

Tracts.' Whitelocke testifies to their reputation and abilities; as does Baxter, who had no sympathy with the gathering, and not much with Cromwell. The specious trick of changing Barbon into Barebones—the former being the name of one of the members, a wealthy leather-merchant, with the prefix of Praise-God—has led many to suppose that the assembly consisted of the scum of the populace.

The highly-coloured and distorted characters drawn by Restoration writers have been too long accepted as truthful historic portraits of the Little Parliament and of the men of the Commonwealth. They were not all statesmen. Some were more fanciful, not to say fanatical, than patriotic. They mistook their functions: one of which was to arrange for the election of a Parliament on a truly national basis. Too much was attempted; and the pace was too rapid; as is the common mistake with ardent Reformers in every age. The times were unpropitious and out of joint. Society refused to be swept clean at one stroke by a new broom. The first and urgent requirement was a strong and stable administration. On December 12, 1653, a majority of three-fifths of this experimental assembly, the calling of which Cromwell afterwards frankly admitted was a mistake, decreed a voluntary dissolution, and, with Francis Rous (1579–1659), the Speaker, at their head, surrendered to Cromwell the powers received from him. Rous was Provost of Eton, and author of the Scotch Metrical Psalms. The Council of State, consisting of thirty-one persons, newly chosen by the Little Parliament, with the principal Army officers, the judicial and civic dignitaries, and "persons of interest in the nation," requested Cromwell to assume the functions of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth. He refused again and again; but, being importuned, at length agreed, and was installed and duly proclaimed. An Instrument of Government was framed, in forty-two Articles. A Parliament was to be convened once in three years; to sit for at least five months; to consist of four hundred members elected in proportion to population and taxation. The small rotten boroughs were swept away; to be revived, unfortunately, after the Protector's death. Without the consent of the Legisla-

ture, no law could be repealed or altered; nor had Cromwell the power of absolute veto; but the control of the land and sea forces was vested in him, with the granting of commissions and honours.

All this was confirmed by the express approval of grand juries, municipal corporations, and other representative bodies throughout the country. Most of the judges and justices of the peace solicited fresh commissions for the exercise of their functions. Cromwell retained the services of the distinguished Sir Matthew Hale (1609–1676), who had defended Strafford, Laud, and other eminent men on the royal side, and had offered to act as counsel for Charles I. The great judge declined to acknowledge the title of the Protector, who, however, desired him to continue on the Bench, and told him to administer justice in his own way. Edmund Burke, who had no love for Cromwell, utters a panegyric upon him for this act. Capable persons of known integrity were appointed to other responsible offices. For a few years, and for the only time in her history, England possessed a written Constitution, in the renowned Instrument of Government. Prior to this, certain fundamental Statutes embodied great principles; such as Magna Charta, with its numerous confirmations, and the Petition of Right; to be followed, ere long, by the Habeas Corpus Act and the Bill of Rights. All these are only the landmarks of a hidden movement. Gladstone says,—"Time was the parent, and Silence was the nurse of the British Constitution."

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE UNCROWNED KING.

A.D. 1654–1658.

It is difficult to perceive what other course was open for Cromwell than to take his stand at the helm of affairs when urged to do so. To call it a usurpation is puerile. At a time when "Discord, with a thousand various mouths," is clamorous, and when anarchy and chaos

threaten the body politic, a wise, benignant, and wholesome despotism is necessary. Speaking on April 13, 1657, he said that he "undertook the place, not so much out of hope of doing any good, as out of a desire to prevent mischief and evil." The return of the Stuarts was then impossible. No one in the country was comparable to him for practical sagacity; for firmness and determination; for military achievements; for administrative skill; and for the power to rule; nor was there any one who inspired such general confidence. He had his enemies; as is the case with every strong and capable ruler; and there were theorists and visionaries who continued to trouble him for the rest of his life; but every other prominent man in that day had fewer qualifications for the post, and would have aroused as much opposition, if not more, in the state of parties. The Instrument of Government ordained that a Parliament should meet on the third of September. A proviso was to be inserted in the writs, that the persons chosen would "not alter the form of government as now settled in a single person and a Parliament." Cromwell was authorized to raise needful supplies, and to "make laws and ordinances for the peace and welfare of these nations." Eighty-two such Ordinances appeared during the interval of eight months; chiefly to regulate matters of administration; showing a resolute purpose to uphold law and to maintain peace and order, on the part of the man who, in Milton's phrase, "alone remained to conduct the Government and to save the country."

One of these regulations, issued March 20, 1654, was rendered necessary by the failure of the Little Parliament to deal with Church questions. It concerned "the Settlement of a Gospel Ministry in this Nation"; and provoked angry strife, as was to be expected. Ever since, it has been the theme of rancorous comment. Men of all parties felt more or less aggrieved: a sure proof that Cromwell was substantially in the right, and that the scales were held impartially. Ecclesiastical affairs were in a state of almost hopeless entanglement. Strictly speaking, there was no legal church authority. Episcopacy had been set aside. The experimental year assigned to Presbyterianism expired in 1648, and it

was no longer in the ascendant. Sectaries were laying private footpaths to Heaven, and trying to compel others to follow them. In order to meet a present difficulty, the Ordinance created certain Triers, to examine candidates for the ministry. Thirty-nine persons, including laymen, were appointed ; among them being Presbyterians, Independents and a few Baptists. It was a small attempt at comprehension ; with room and verge enough for a toleration of those who differed ; such as the ecclesiastical statesmen of the preceding hundred years had neglected to provide, and such as William III. tried in vain to effect fifty years later. Another Ordinance of August 29, 1654, nominated for each county a body of Commissioners, not a few being political opponents of Cromwell's, for the Ejection of Scandalous and Insufficient Ministers and Schoolmasters ; who could be removed, only after due trial, by the judgment of five clerical and five lay assessors.

Milton's famous Sonnet to "Cromwell, our chief of men!" written in May, 1652, was a solemn adjuration to the most heroic and sagacious man in the country, at a juncture in its history, and at a time of much excitement, to save England from a Hireling Church, in any form. The description of Adam, in 'Paradise Lost,' seems to be drawn from the Protector. With this must be read the Sonnet, written at the same time, and addressed to Vane, who had mastered the distinction between the civil and the spiritual powers ; as he showed during his brief governorship of Massachusetts. That Cromwell was in sympathy with Milton on the abstract question appears undeniable. He repeatedly expressed and acted upon the principle that "the State, in choosing men to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions. If they be willing faithfully to serve it, that satisfies." But, as a practical statesman, amidst circumstances of peculiar difficulty, he had to consider what was possible. Milton's fear, delicately but unmistakably expressed in the midst of the splendid panegyric on Cromwell in the 'Second Defence,' was that he might be restrained by politic reasons from granting full liberty. Both the men were honest, upright, and sincere. Each undertood and valued the other. It was the old

and ineradicable difference between the philosopher and the administrator; between the man of reflection and the man of action; between the desirable ideal and the actually attainable. Cromwell's personal opinions on the subject were well known. The real test of his tolerance is furnished, not by nineteenth-century opinions, but by the legislation that had prevailed under the Tudors and the Stuarts, and by a comparison with other European countries in his day. Spain, Portugal, and Italy absolutely prohibited all forms of religion except the Roman Catholic. In France and Germany, Protestants fought for existence; if not for supremacy; certainly not for principles of freedom in which all others might share. Holland enforced the rigid decrees of the Synod of Dort. Geneva was intolerantly Calvinistic. Denmark, Sweden, and Norway permitted nothing but Lutheranism. In contrast to all these countries, England under Cromwell appears to great advantage, and her position was unique with regard to religious liberty.

The new Parliament consisted of four hundred members; chosen, for the first time in the history of the country, on a basis of popular representation; save only that Malignants were rigorously excluded. The assembly met on the appointed day; September 3, 1654. Thirty members were summoned from Scotland, and a like number from Ireland, to these Parliaments of the Commonwealth; but the old system of separate Legislatures was revived at the Restoration. After a sermon in Westminster Abbey by Stephen Marshall, and one on the following day by Dr. Thomas Goodwin, the Protector gave an opening address in the Painted Chamber at Whitehall. He took a comprehensive survey of affairs at home and abroad; marked by statesmanship, patriotism, fervour, and catholicity. Lenthall was again chosen Speaker. The House, although the enemy was at the gate, proceeded to discuss theories of government, their own powers and those of the Protector, with unending Church questions. After a week thus spent, he remonstrated with them; pointing out, with his usual clear logic and common sense, that there was a government *de facto*, by virtue of which they were convened; that he had been constrained to take his

present position, so as to avoid confusion or bloodshed; that the administration was being duly carried on; that law was dispensed equitably, and order was maintained; that Providence was offering opportunities for the just and wise settlement of national affairs, which he, for one, dare not neglect; that they had been elected, and had agreed to serve, with an express proviso, of which he now required the enforcement. One hundred complied immediately; and two hundred more within a fortnight. Unbending and consistent Republicans, like Bradshaw; extreme if not fanatical Fifth-Monarchy-men, like Major-General Harrison (1606–1660), who believed in an immediate personal reign of Christ over His saints; and a few other small factions and coteries, withdrew. Harrison, an honest and sincere, but narrow and mistaken man, had entered the Long Parliament in 1646 as member for Wendover. He was present at its dissolution, and concurred with Cromwell in the act. He had taken an active part in the first Civil War, and was one of the King's judges; but his peculiar religious and social views had alienated him from the Protector, and he had been several times imprisoned or confined to his house, to keep him from mischief. So Lucy Hutchinson, a paragon of noble womanhood, in the beautiful 'Memoir' of her husband, narrates how that pure, high-souled man, the type of a Christian hero and gentleman, had occasion to call upon Cromwell after their estrangement on political grounds, and how, when their immediate business was transacted, Cromwell followed him to the door, pleaded and expostulated with him by the memory of their old friendship and companionship in arms, and sought to be reconciled for the sake of the common cause. All was in vain. Colonel Hutchinson would not swerve by one hair-breadth from his rigid Republicanism.

Cromwell's efforts failed; even with the majority. They resumed their theoretical discussions about forms of government. Well-meaning pedants and impracticable theorists, they could not rise to the height of their duty; or realize the grave issues that awaited settlement; or share with the Protector the danger and the glory of saving a nation. Republicans and Fifth-Monarchists, Levellers, Millenarians and Perfectists, Ranters and

Seekers, Familists and Quietists, Mortalists and Muggletonians, and others of peculiar opinions and visionary schemes—some of them men of good intentions but of restricted capacity, and suffering from a mental twist—thwarted his policy. Five months—the allotted term of meeting, if reckoned by lunar months—were wasted in these dreary, arid, and useless disputes; Cromwell waiting and chafing in impatience and anger. Not a single measure had been transmitted for his assent, or Supply voted. On January 22, 1655, he addressed them in an unprecedented combination of speech, lecture, sermon, history, autobiography, argument, banter, entreaty, expostulation, attack, self-defence, and commination, ending with the plain announcement,—"It is not for the profit of these nations, nor for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer. And therefore I do declare unto you that I do dissolve this Parliament." It was a miserable and a disappointing termination. Cromwell had developed under the stress of circumstances. Like Saul, the son of Kish, he was, in an intellectual and moral sense, of commanding stature among his fellows. He clearly perceived what had to be done, and he hoped that these representatives of the nation would assist him. They had remained stationary, or had drawn back, as the swift tide of events swept onward. His appeals fell on deaf ears; and their incapacity or lack of patriotism brought eventual ruin to themselves and to the common cause.

Public duties had to be discharged. The ship of State could not be abandoned. "To quit it," he said, "is what I will be willing to be rolled into my grave and buried with infamy, before I will consent unto." There were pressing domestic cares and foreign obligations. Plots of Royalists and of Levellers were frustrated. Futile but threatening risings in the South-West led to the appointment during that Autumn of Major-Generals of the Militia; for which purpose England was divided into twelve districts. This arrangement was continued until January 7, 1657. It can only be defended by the logic of political necessity. "If not good, yet best"; said Cromwell. The peace of the Commonwealth must be kept; disorder put down; sus-

pected people watched, arrested, and examined ; meddling parsons, of all kinds, checked : and other great powers exercised, subject to the Protector and the Council of State. The expense was defrayed by an income tax of ten per cent. on known Royalists ; who quietly submitted, lest worse things should befall them. The country furnished all other needful expenses of government ; glad that the requirements were low, and especially gratified by the news from abroad. Spain, overcoming her old hatred of England, was seeking the Protector's friendship, out of rivalry with Holland and Portugal ; but he inherited the national dislike of that country, as the cherished abode of despotism and of the Inquisition ; and he could not forget a century of massacre and torture of Englishmen on the Spanish Main. Instead of accepting the proffered alliance, as the Spaniards would not throw open the West India trade, and would not promise religious liberty to English residents in Spain, he entered into one with France, where it was commonly said that the imperious Cardinal Mazarin (1602–1661) had less fear of the devil than of Cromwell. He sent an expedition against Hispaniola, which failed through neglect of orders ; but it took Jamaica, May 3, 1655. Other European powers were anxious for his friendship ; and he said that he hoped for the day when the name of Englishman would be as sure a protection from injustice throughout the world as that of Roman had ever been. *Civis Romanus sum* was a maxim of wider scope and of nobler boast than in the ancient days. Assuredly, he did much to secure this ; as was remembered, to his undying renown, when the frenzy of the Restoration had passed away. Never did England stand higher than under the firm, just, and sagacious rule of her Lord Protector. The Netherlands, France, and Spain bowed before his might. The proudest crowned heads of Europe rendered homage to the Uncrowned King, who was said to carry the keys of the Continent at his girdle, as Clarendon admits.

Cromwell always stipulated, as a condition from which he would not swerve, that the lives and liberties of Englishmen, with the safety of their goods, should be ensured, wherever commerce led them, and that their

freedom to worship should not be interfered with. He set up no pretensions of meddling with the internal affairs of other countries; and he would not allow of their doing so in the case of England. He knew how to maintain the respect due to his office and government. Belonging to the people, though of ancient lineage; a plain yeoman and a soldier; scorning the meretricious trappings of sham royalty, he comported himself with native dignity and majesty, such as tinsel monarchs, however blue their blood and numerous their quarterings, could not assume. In the reception of ambassadors, and at other high ceremonials, his bearing and conduct were perfect in manly strength and courtesy; as Whitelocke describes in the stately interview with the representatives from Sweden, in July, 1655; and as they, like the Plenipotentiaries from Spain, France, Venice, Holland, and other countries testified in well-known letters. He was generous in his hospitality. Marvell speaks of his "delight in horses fierce, wild deer, or armour bright." He was skilled in bowls and in hawking, and took pleasure in music; as did many Puritans, for they were not the austere, sanctimonious, sour beings whom Addison has handed down in No. 394 of the 'Spectator,' or such as the ribald writers of the preceding age caricatured, as if they were exaggerations of Timon the Misanthrope, or the Knight of the Rueful Countenance. The fanaticism, the narrowness, the ignorance, and the hypocrisy of the few have been falsely ascribed to the many. Accidents of speech, dress, and manners have been enlarged and coloured, and then mistaken for essentials. The vehement, loud-voiced, pulpit-drumming Maister Gowkthrapple, in Scott's 'Waverley,' and his Peter Poundtext in 'Old Mortality,' like the Blathergowls, the Mawworms, and the Cantwells of the satirists cannot be accepted as typical.

The 'Memoir' of Colonel Hutchinson; Robert Halley's 'Puritanism in Lancashire'; Stanford's 'Joseph Alleyne'; and Hepworth Dixon's 'Admiral Blake,' are specimens of works that present a faithful picture of cultivated and courteous gentlemen, such as were commonly found at the head of Puritan households; well-furnished and well-served; enjoying good dinners

and generous wines; delighting in the chase and in manly sports; finding innocent recreation in dancing, fencing, and the refinements of music and the arts. A detailed and graphic delineation of Puritan family and social life occurs in the eleventh Chapter of the second Volume of Dr. John Stoughton's 'Religion in England.' The accidents and excrescences of Puritanism have mostly passed away; but its essential principles and its animating spirit remain. So far from its having been vanquished by opposition, it has fairly conquered; after a long and an obstinate conflict. Modern Englishmen have no cause for shame or for regret when they call to mind what the Puritans did, and bore, and suffered in behalf of human rights and liberties, and especially for individual freedom and responsibility; even if Time has demonstrated that undue importance was attached to subordinate details and to transient objects. Samuel Butler (1612-1680) is chiefly responsible for the opinion so long current, through his famous satire of 'Hudibras'; the first part of which was published in 1663. It is a metrical 'Don Quixote' in English; written avowedly to deride and lampoon the Puritans. its witty couplets and sparkling jests were popular alike with courtiers and with the mob; and many of his phrases are proverbial. Charles II. found pleasure in the work; yet left the author to die in poverty; causing Dryden to say,—"He shamed you living, and upbraids you dead." Abraham Cowley and John Oldham also censure in strong terms the neglect from which Butler suffered. Cowley, in his 'Puritan and Papist,' vies with 'Hudibras' in his dislike and denunciation of the former.

Cromwell's burning hatred of oppression, especially on account of religious belief, sometimes impelled him to do more than make verbal remonstrances with the oppressors. Instead of sending vapouring despatches, or an ultimatum couched in the regulation terms of diplomacy, he struck a swift and decisive blow. He ordered Blake in 1655 to demand redress from Pope Alexander VII. (b. 1599, r. 1655-1667) and the Duke of Tuscany, on behalf of the owners of three merchant vessels which had been seized by the buccaneering Prince Rupert and sold there. After the object was secured,

Blake was sent to Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis to release many Christian slaves, captured by pirates, and held in bondage. In that same year, Cromwell effectually interposed on behalf of the Protestants of Piedmont, many of whom had been massacred or driven out amidst Alpine snows by order of the fanatical young Duke of Savoy, Charles Emmanuel II. Cromwell instantly opened a relief fund with a munificent contribution. By the facile and graceful pen of Milton he addressed to the Duke a letter, couched in stately and massive periods, glowing with indignation at his inhumanity. Milton also, in a sublime Sonnet, perhaps the noblest to be found in any language, and worthy of being styled a collect in verse, invoked the Divine vengeance for these "slaughtered saints." A fleet was ordered to proceed to Italy, and Cromwell declared that the boom of his cannon should be heard in the Eternal City. The Duke judged it prudent to yield, and the Vaudois were restored and compensated. Three years later, Cromwell again promptly intervened, and stopped renewed oppression. Persecuted Protestants in Bohemia, Poland, Silesia, and elsewhere were also generously aided. He declared that he would not allow the Protestant faith to be insulted, or its adherents wronged, in any part of the world; and it was known that he meant what he said, and would carry out his purpose. When the Huguenot citizens of Nismes, in Languedoc, betrayed into violence under circumstances of great provocation and excitement, were about to be punished by martial law, and sent a messenger to invoke his intervention, he despatched orders the same night to Sir William Lockhart, the English ambassador, to see Mazarin at once and insist on mercy being shown. The Cardinal complained that this was imperious; but admitted that he had no option; and the troops were recalled. Years afterwards, as Clarendon records, the memory of Cromwell was held in veneration by the people of Nismes, whom he had rescued from a horrible fate. No wonder that the national pride exulted at the renown of such a ruler, who, himself a thorough Englishman, was determined that his country should take her place among the foremost, by her commerce; in her

extending colonies; by her naval strength; and, above all, by her justice and true charity.

Another legislative experiment was made on September 17, 1656, after a lapse of twenty months, during which the Protector and the Council of State ruled under the provisions of the Instrument of Government. Cromwell addressed the four hundred members, in one of his discursive, involved, but pregnant speeches; appealing to them "to attempt great things for the glory of God and for the good of the land," in numerous specified particulars. It appeared at first as if the proper work would be efficiently done. The Major-Generals were relieved of their invidious and arbitrary duties. Various small but necessary measures were passed; and then an apple of discord was introduced. In some unknown way, a proposal was mooted that Cromwell should assume the title of King. He was indifferent; yet, apparently, disposed to yield, from reasons of policy. Friends in the Army urgently dissuaded him. For several months there were discussions and interviews; but, in the end, he refused the offer. He concurred, however, in a motion for a Second Chamber, and in certain provisions of a new Instrument of Government, called the Petition and Advice. He was once more installed as Lord Protector, amidst much state, in Westminster Hall, on June 26, 1657; with the right of nominating his successor. The transfer to the Upper House of forty of his most attached and able supporters in the Commons lessened his influence there, and added to the difficulties caused by the irreconcilable factions when business was resumed on January 20, 1658. The ultra-Republicans gave trouble by their rigidity. The Presbyterians were sullen and resentful. Smaller parties and sections were suspicious and antagonistic. There were collisions between the two Houses; and childish wrangles over the name to be given to the new assembly. Cromwell sought in vain to reconcile them by an earnest and touching address; setting forth their duties and the imminent dangers at home and abroad. The idealists and dreamers, the fanatical sectaries, and some with whom Royalist emissaries were already at work, and who sold themselves ere long, would not respond to his call

to duty. Trimmers did their best to circumvent and thwart the Protector. One of the most scandalous was Anthony Ashley Cooper, who, in Dryden's phrase, was among "the loudest bagpipes of the squeaking train." After repeated vacillations, he finally made good terms with Charles II.; and reaped the reward of his infamy as Earl of Shaftesbury.

Ten more days were spent by the House in wrangling, and, on the fourth of February, Cromwell sent for them, rehearsed once more the circumstances of their election and the conditions under which he accepted his irksome and thankless post; reminded them that he had loyally carried out his part of the compact, as defined in the Petition and Advice; justly reproached them with indifference to the nation's dangers; and concluded, in a blaze and tornado of indignation, "I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting; and I do dissolve this Parliament; and let God judge between you and me." It was the last gathering of the kind during his life. Seven months only remained to him. His career had been arduous, and for a long time he had borne an excessive strain. Many indications showed that he was conscious of the approaching end, and longed to lay down a burden which he said was too heavy for any man. There was no personal resentment towards those who had so often thwarted him, and, what was worse, in his esteem, had placed the dearest interests of the country in jeopardy. During his entire career, the number imprisoned for political reasons was very small. None were otherwise punished than by honourable detention, to keep them out of mischief. His forbearance stands in noble contrast to incessant Stuart plots against his life; to the skulking assassins who murdered two of the ambassadors of the Commonwealth, Dr. Isaac Dorislaus at the Hague, and Anthony Ascham at Madrid; and to the dastardly revenge taken, on the dead as well as on the living, after the Restoration. Hired bravoes were repeatedly sent over to murder him. A pamphlet printed in Holland, with the title 'Killing no Murder,' urged his violent removal, and was circulated by thousands. An annuity of five hundred pounds, with a colonelcy in the Royal Army was promised "on the

word and faith of a Christian King"; in a Proclamation issued with the knowledge of Clarendon, if not drafted by him, and addressed to all who would remove Cromwell by sword, pistol, or poison.

Domestic sorrows gave added weight to the public anxieties of the last year of his life. His favourite daughter, Lady Claypole, died on August 6, 1658. Another daughter was left a widow at seventeen. His venerable mother, a noble and saintly woman, whom he tenderly loved, had passed away four years previously, at the age of ninety-four. Her last words were a benediction:—"My dear son, I leave my heart with thee. Good-night!" He himself was weary and worn out with public labours, and with the incessant anxieties of his position; though his age was only fifty-nine. "Deep on his front engraven, deliberation sat and public care." Seized with a tertian ague, he had not strength to rally. Amidst the sighs, tears, and prayers of many devoted friends in London, and of a countless number in the country, but not amidst a violent storm, as Clarendon, Anthony Wood and others assert, he passed into the silent land on Friday, the third of September, 1658; his fortunate day, as he was wont to term it; being the anniversary of the Battles of Dunbar and of Worcester. Harvey, the Groom of the Bedchamber, has left a pathetic narrative of the scene. A public funeral was decreed in Westminster Abbey. There was profound grief at his loss, at such a crisis, among those who hoped for a wise, strong, and righteous administration under his firm and sagacious rule; but the exiled Stuart, and his rabble and penniless Court at the Hague, revengeful for what they had lost, and clamorous for a resumption of the spoils, exulted in the removal of the one man who held them at bay; just as the ignorant people in the streets of Amsterdam shouted,—"The Devil is dead." Panegyrics on Cromwell were issued immediately after his death; but the truculent scribblers of the Restoration period exhausted the vocabulary of abuse in their denunciations; such as are to be found, in their lowest depth, in "Carrion" James Heath's 'Flagellum.' From every great library may be disentombed books and pamphlets, filled with measureless vilification of the man who did

far more than the average titular monarchs who preceded or followed him to render England safe and prosperous at home, and honoured and respected abroad. Hume, and the other writers of the Georgian era, repeated the strain of defamation; varied occasionally and slightly by such works as Kimber's 'Life of Cromwell,' or Mark Noble's 'Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell,' or those by Francis Peck, and by William Harris. But his character breathes through his words, and is embodied in his deeds. To attempt to vindicate it is superfluous. The fury of prejudice has nearly died out, and the man stands self-revealed in his native, rugged majesty. In one of his letters, dated March 28, 1648, he wrote,—"I know God has been above all ill reports, and will in His own time vindicate me. I have no cause to complain." Besides those above-mentioned, William Godwin, Dr. Robert Vaughan, Macaulay, Guizot, J. Allanson Picton, and, above all, Thomas Carlyle, have fulfilled this confident anticipation, have rescued his memory from aspersion, and have presented a just and discriminating portraiture. The broad principles and the main objects for which he contended, such as the true honour of England, her mercantile prosperity, the Protestant cause, the command of the seas, freedom of commerce, equal representation, the irremovability of judges, amendment of the law, and moderate punishments, have come to be recognised and enjoyed, for the most part, by later generations.

Cromwell stands out in solitary grandeur, like a rock in mid-ocean, as the fearless and consistent advocate of the rights of the individual conscience. That his magnificent conception could not always be embodied in corresponding acts was owing to adverse circumstances, and to the persistent opposition of narrow-minded men. Of his personal opinions, of his broad sympathies, and of his resolute endeavours to break down and remove the walls of sectarian difference, there can be no question. Having defeated the Scottish Covenanters in battle, he was eager to convince them by argument of their mistaken bigotry. He warned Presbyterian zealots in England that their platform was "not large enough for the great God to come down to their minds and

thoughts." In his speeches and in his letters he constantly insisted upon forbearance towards others. All must concede something, he said, for the sake of a common interest and a general settlement, or "some one party would be sure to get into the saddle and ride the rest at pleasure." Each was allowed free scope, so long as it did not disturb the public peace, or interfere with others; but claims to superiority were sternly rejected. The Council Books and other official documents in the State Paper Office prove that the ecclesiastical and other departments were administered with singular fairness, regularity, and method. "We always reckon those eight years of usurpation a time of great peace and prosperity," writes Burnet; who was also told by Algernon Sidney, staunch Republican though he was, that Cromwell had just notions of public liberty. He was resolute for freedom of conscience, and placed his veto on acts of persecution. He snatched from the grasp of Parliament John Biddle, of Gloucestershire; regarded by some as the Father of English Unitarianism. James Nayler, a mad Quaker, who thought himself an incarnate Christ, and headed a vapid rising in the West, was ordered by Parliament to be punished in the semi-ridiculous, semi-brutal mode of that day, in spite of the Protector's intervention. He protected the few Jews who had ventured to settle here after their long banishment of more than three centuries and a half. Nothing more could then be done than connive at their presence, because legal pedants and bigoted clergymen raised obstacles. Romanists were unmolested in their private worship; although any public recognition was impossible in the existing temper of the public mind. To the adherents of the Anglican system he showed all possible leniency. The most fanatical and unpopular sectaries were left alone, so long as they abstained from attempts to overthrow the Government. His own comprehensive but impossible scheme of Church polity embraced the Presbyterians; who never forgave him for being an Independent.

Cromwell convened, in 1654, a meeting of representatives of the various religious bodies, including Episcopalians, to devise some project of mutual toleration, if not of tacit agreement. The attempt was

fruitless; for the diversities and antagonisms were too marked. Four years later, the Savoy Conference of 1658, consented to, if not actively concurred in by the Protector, was called in response to a petition from Parliament that the future Church polity of the nation might be that of the Independents; but with toleration towards those who agreed in doctrine, while differing in worship and discipline. Before the appointed day of meeting, Cromwell was no more, and nothing came of the Conference beyond an elaborate series of definitions and proposals. When presenting these to Richard Cromwell, Dr. Thomas Goodwin said,—"We look at the magistrates as *custos utrusque tabulæ;* and so commit the Gospel to your trust, as our chief magistrate, to countenance and propagate." In the sudden collapse of political affairs, England escaped the new experiment in legalized ecclesiasticism, after an Independent type. The attempt to secure combined harmony and freedom was well-intended by Cromwell, and was characteristic of his whole policy. He understood and admired George Fox, the founder, or, more accurately, the organizer or completing agent of the Society of Friends, and sent for him repeatedly for conference, though differing from some of his opinions and practices. Cromwell did all he could to mitigate the brutal treatment of Friends by narrow and bigoted enemies; but the nation did not comprehend his tolerant opinions on this and other vital issues. Few were for the State, but most were for their respective parties; and factions triumphed over patriotism. Fox was born at Drayton, Leicestershire, in 1624. He was the son of a poor weaver, and apprenticed to a country shoemaker. Of a mystical turn of mind, he withdrew from the services of the church, which he regarded as formal, and its ministers as hirelings. He began to testify to what he called the Inner Light of the Holy Spirit; and to preach, whether consciously or not is unknown, many of the views taught a hundred years before by the Mennonites and other mystics in the Netherlands and in Silesia; as Robert Barclay shows. He journeyed on foot through the Midland Counties, where he was derisively known as "the man with the leather breeches"; exhorting people to forsake drunken-

ness, swearing, and vicious practices; and to live a Christian life. His earnestness and simplicity, with his winning manners and powers of speech, gained many adherents; but the clergy, including most of the Puritan section, were opposed to him, and incited the magistrates to imprison him and his followers.

Notwithstanding the commotions of fifteen years, the country maintained its literary renown. The two great Universities were fostered. Cromwell was Chancellor of Oxford from January, 1651, and he upheld its privileges. He presented a number of Greek manuscripts, and founded a new Readership in Divinity. He also watched over the interests of Cambridge; his Alma Mater. He granted a Charter in 1656 for a proposed new University in Durham; but this was not actually created until 1832, by an arrangement with Bishop Van Mildert and the Dean and Chapter. Thus a tardy act of poetical justice was done for wrongs at the Suppression of the Monasteries. Each of the great seats of learning contained many distinguished men among the heads of colleges and the staff of professors and tutors. In Oxford, there were Dr. John Owen, the Vice-Chancellor, Thomas Goodwin, John Wilkins, Seth Ward, John Conant, John Wallis, and Edward Pocock, the greatest Arabic scholar in Europe. Cambridge boasted of Ralph Cudworth, Benjamin Whichcote, John Lightfoot, Lazarus Seaman, Simon Patrick, Henry More, John Smith, and other members of the group known as Platonists; who, with eminent men of the next generation, extended the teachings of divinity and applied the principles of philosophy within the Church, and were the founders of what is known as the Latitudinarian school. John Howe graduated at both Universities; and in the domain of theology is comparable to Milton in epic poetry, for the magnificence of his conceptions and his sublime range of utterance. His great, argumentative work, 'The Living Temple,' intellectual meat for the strongest men, is a discussion of the foundations of Theism, and a refutation of Spinoza. Clarendon testifies to "the harvest of good and sound knowledge in all parts of learning," reaped at that time. The great divines and scholars and the men

of science who flourished down to the close of the century were trained under teachers appointed by the Long Parliament and by Cromwell.

The Protector's personal relations with men of letters were always courteous, and in some instances most friendly. He sought out and was the generous patron of celebrated men; irrespective of party or of sect. The learned Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688), author of 'The Intellectual System,' Master of Clare Hall, and Regius Professor of Hebrew, was instructed to bring under his notice any promising students at Cambridge, with a view to their employment in the public service, or to advancement in their professions. He favoured Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, and other learned Royalists; and attached to his Court persons of ability and promise. At the time of his death, he was revolving a scheme of general and gratuitous education; such as existed in the Netherlands, and, in a modified degree, in Scotland. If carried out, it would have changed the whole course of domestic history. England had to wait more than two centuries for a realization of the project. He kept Raphael's cartoons in the country when they were in danger of being sold under financial exigencies, at the dispersion of the Titians and other pictures which Charles I. had collected. He extended support to Brian Walton (1600–1661), afterwards Bishop of Chester, in producing his 'Polyglot'; that monolith of erudition. It was prepared during many years of labour, with the aid of twenty-eight learned assistants; and is said to have been the first book published in England by subscription. The paper on which it was printed was allowed to be imported duty free, by Cromwell's express authority; as is acknowledged in the Preface to the first edition; but the statement was suppressed, for politic reasons, after the Restoration. Another of Walton's coadjutors, Dr. Edmund Castell (1606–1685), one of a brilliant constellation of Orientalists, compiled and issued his 'Lexicon' of the seven languages used in the former work; with the grammars prefixed.

Elias Ashmole (1617–1692), after his active service on the royal side, was left free to pursue his chemical and antiquarian studies, and to gather materials for his works

on coins, medals, genealogies, coronations, and the Order of the Garter. The collection bearing his name at Oxford was really made by John Tradescant of Lambeth, and his son. Cromwell released from prison the satirist, John Cleveland (1613–1659), and also Sir William Davenant (1605–1668), the playwright; both of whom had lampooned him and mocked his government. He admired and protected the pious and large-hearted Archbishop Ussher (1580–1656), Royalist though he was. That prelate, whose candour equalled his learning, and who had no rival in Patristic lore, told the Presbyterian leaders during his residence in Ulster that it would break his heart if their successful ministry were interrupted. He was once entertained, as a passing wayfarer, by Samuel Rutherford, in his country manse in Galloway; and, at the customary evening family catechizing, said there were eleven Commandments; to the surprise of the host, until he quoted the Christian Law of Love. It was characteristic of the man. He left Armagh in 1640, and spent several years in Oxford. He was chosen by the Benchers to be preacher in Lincoln's Inn; a post which he filled without molestation for nine years prior to his death, when Cromwell ordered an interment in Westminster Abbey. He made no objection to Ussher's ecclesiastical views; embodying a modified Episcopacy, with Synodical government; though his own were greatly in advance; as they were of the theory propounded in Jeremy Taylor's 'Liberty of Prophesying,' first published in June, 1647. Its pleadings were based upon principles far more comprehensive and tolerant than the age was disposed to acknowledge; and, advancing beyond Chillingworth and Hooker, inevitably lead to the conclusion that any theological opinion, if held in good faith, is in itself innocent; though he does not say so. Few believed it then; and many deny it now. Taylor's 'Ductor Dubitantium' deals with the whole subject of casuistry, with marvellous learning. Its style and length repel modern readers; but he is the precursor of Paley, Bentham, and other moral philosophers. His 'Holy Living and Dying' is a Divine pastoral, and, with other works, was composed during thirteen years' unmolested retirement at Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire.

He has been called the modern Chrysostom ; and his style is more Asiatic than Occidental ; with its unrivalled richness of fancy, exuberant imagery, and glowing diction ; suggestive of Shakspere and Spencer, of Sidney and Fletcher, rather than of sombre theologians.

Nor did Cromwell object to the issue, in 1651, of 'The Leviathan,' by Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury (1588–1679). That great philosopher, the most subtle dialectician of his time, and the first English writer to base the science of government on reason, and not on tradition, fully developed the views on mind, morals, politics, and religion which he had partly set forth in earlier works, in a style of singular clearness. He was safer in England than among his friends the Royalist exiles on the Continent ; from whose persecution he was obliged to flee. Though he contended for a pure and unrestrained monarchy, as the best possible form of government, the Anglican clergy, and also the Presbyterians, could not tolerate what they regarded as his free-thinking opinions, and his denunciation of dogmas that are essential to ecclesiastical authority. Nor did he fare better after the Restoration. Down to the time of his death, he was engaged in sharp controversies. He produced a fermentation in English thought, unsurpassed until the advent of Charles Darwin ; and was reviled as a typical atheist, materialist, and preacher of ethical selfishness. His thorough-going Nominalism is his chief characteristic. He was a product of the great intellectual movement of the age ; adorned by such names as Bacon, Galileo, Kepler, Harvey, and Descartes. He must be regarded, next to Bacon, if not equally with him, as the father of that great school of thought which now dominates Europe. Cowley apostrophises him as,—"Thou great Columbus of the land of new philosophies." Bacon died in 1629, when Hobbes was forty-one. His views were transmitted through Hobbes to John Locke and to Berkeley, who was the teacher of Hume ; and in him are to be found the highly-developed germs of the most valuable parts of the teachings of Rousseau, Compte, Kant, Bentham, and Mill.

Five years after Hobbes' book first saw the light, James Harrington (1611–1677), an Oxford student under

Chillingworth, and a man of some originality and wide travel, issued his 'Oceana'; a political romance, resembling some works already named (i. 306). It was dedicated to Cromwell, who failed to appreciate its straitlaced and somewhat finical Republicanism. Harrington laid stress upon the doctrine that dominion follows the balance of property; by which he meant that the form of government in a State must depend upon the mode in which property is distributed. He demanded an equal agrarian law as the foundation of his ideal Commonwealth. Among other works of this period that have exercised a formative influence was 'Religio Medici,' by Sir Thomas Browne (1605–1682), a physician in Norwich. It met with much success when published in 1642; was translated into several languages; and gave birth to a numerous progeny of imitators. His 'Inquiry into Vulgar and Common Errors' appeared four years later, and ran through six editions ere long. It is a cyclopædia of contemporary knowledge, and anticipates some of the results of modern inquiry. Like all his writings, it is marked by genial fancy, pleasing quaintness of style, and varied erudition. Buckle says that it is "chiefly remarkable as being the first systematic and deliberate onslaught ever made in England upon those superstitious fancies which were then prevalent respecting the external world." It is not surprising that Browne was credulous with regard to astrology, alchemy, witchcraft, and magic; and that he never abandoned the Ptolemaic theory of astronomy. His writings are original and vigorous. They reveal an unwearied search after truth, and a tolerance that was rare in his day. The fact that he was knighted by Charles II., called forth from Johnson the equivocal compliment that the King rewarded excellence with honorary distinctions that cost nothing.

Richard Crashaw's sweet notes and delicate imagery are almost forgotten. Abraham Cowley's collected poems appeared in 1656, after Cromwell permitted his return from ten years' exile. His brilliant but meteoric productions were issued by Milton's publisher. Cowper has limned Cowley in 'The Task'; lamenting that his spendid wit was entangled in the cobwebs of the Schools.

George Wither, Edmund Waller, and Andrew Marvell sang the praises of the Protector ; but Waller unsung his pæans at the Restoration ; not for the first time. Partly because of this, and partly from the ridicule of Johnson, he has scarcely had justice done to his memory as one of the refiners of English poetry. Thomas Fuller's laborious and quaint 'Church History,' printed in 1655, was assailed with much asperity by Peter Heylin, author of several controversial works in defence of the extreme section of the High Anglican party. Fuller had already issued 'The Holy and the Profane State.' His other great book, 'The Worthies,' appeared posthumously. He retained his Essex living at Waltham during the Commonwealth ; as the learned Dr. Edward Pocock kept his in Lincolnshire. Henry Hammond, expelled from his canonry and sub-deanery at Christ Church by the Parliamentary visitors in 1648, before Cromwell attained to power, was left by him, without interference, to pursue his labours as one of the Church's great commentators and in the domain of philology. Besides the above, such different men as John Evelyn, William Prynne, Izaak Walton, Robert Herrick, Samuel Butler, Henry Vaughan the Silurist—so called, pedantically, because he was a native of South Wales—and the indefatigable and exhaustless Richard Baxter, were giving to the world in the year of Cromwell's death some of their numerous productions. But of much of the seventeenth century literature, and in particular, of its theological writings, it must be said that the general character is a vast umbrageousness of superfluous and wearisome verbosity. Obvious exceptions have been cited, and there were others, such as the original and racy Thomas Adams, whose few extant works create a desire to know more of him, on account of his clear, lively, and vigorous style, his richness of illustration, and his fervour of feeling.

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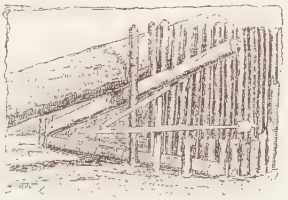

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